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## RAILWAYS AND THE CONFEDERATION ISSUE IN NEW BRUNSWICK, 1863-1865

NEW BRUNSWICK occupies a unique position in relation to the two geographic provinces of the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic seaboard. It stands at the apex of the angle where these two regions meet and possesses both an Atlantic and a St. Lawrence frontage. The latter is, however, not properly a frontage at all. It is rather the left flank of a province facing south and standing with its back to the Appalachian highland which runs out into the great spur of the Gaspé Peninsula. The flank is partly isolated by that spur from the St. Lawrence region.<sup>1</sup> No port on the "north shore" or left flank of the province has ever rivalled Saint John, which is situated on the more important Atlantic front. Hence in many respects New Brunswick has belonged more naturally to the Atlantic region than to that of the St. Lawrence.

### I

Within the two geographic provinces there evolved early in colonial times two competing societies,<sup>2</sup> that of the St. Lawrence having been occupied first by the French and then by the British, and that of the Atlantic first by the British and then by the United States. In response to needs peculiar to themselves both societies competed for the control of the territory now occupied by New Brunswick. Which would triumph was a question long hanging in the balance. In the seventeenth century, while the British were colonizing the Atlantic seaboard, the French were attempting to link their fur-trading empire of the St. Lawrence with the fishing grounds controlled by them in their colony of Acadia. The Intendant Talon projected a line of communication between

<sup>1</sup>W. M. Whitelaw, *The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation* (Toronto, 1934), 9-37.

<sup>2</sup>D. G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850* (Toronto, 1937), 1-21.

Quebec and Acadia by way of the St. John River Valley. Thus, what was one day to be the Province of New Brunswick was a key-stone in the arch of French empire in America. It was, however, a weak stone. Talon's vigorous policy was not followed up by his successors, and, partly as a result, the St. John Valley was virtually deserted during the first half of the eighteenth century. The French empire collapsed in part because of the failure to integrate the closed season of the St. Lawrence with the fishing season in Acadia, and to link both these with the hurricane and sugar seasons of the West Indies.<sup>3</sup>

With the arch of empire finally broken at the surrender of Montreal in 1760, New Englanders pushed their frontier north-eastward into Nova Scotia. During the American Revolution, the neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, to use Professor Brebner's apt phrase, preferred to remain aloof from the conflict. Their attempt to storm Fort Cumberland and the expression of "rebel" sympathies on the part of the settlers of Maugerville, a small settlement on the River St. John, were exceptions to an otherwise prevailing tendency. The weakness of American sea-power, among other factors,<sup>4</sup> rendered abortive the attempts to link the destiny of Nova Scotia with that of the other thirteen seaboard colonies; and by a sublime piece of imperial strategy, whether altogether intended or partly fortuitous, ten thousand loyal refugees erected a province in the valley of the Saint John as a bulwark against further encroachments of New Englanders into the north-east.

For better or for worse the Yankees of New England and the Loyalists of New Brunswick were destined to live side by side in the same geographic region, and it was inevitable that some intercourse should surmount the mutual antipathy that is generally supposed to have existed between them. As the nineteenth century advanced and the economy of the Second Empire gave way to reciprocity, the commercial bond between New Brunswick and New England was drawn closer than it had ever been before, and it was the keen desire of certain interests in both Maine and New Brunswick to draw it closer still. With the advent of the railway era these interests became focussed on the project of extending New Brunswick's European and North American Railroad westward from Saint John to the American border, thus connecting it with the railway systems of the United States. Thus

<sup>3</sup>H. A. Innis, "Cape Breton during the French Régime" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, sec. II, XXIX, 1935).

<sup>4</sup>J. B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, a Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years* (New York, 1937).

when Canada embarked upon the path of economic and political imperialism which was to harness the commerce of the great West to the St. Lawrence system and sweep the Maritime Provinces within its orbit by means of federation and the Intercolonial Railway, the rival project of *western extension* appeared in New Brunswick as an obstacle to the attainment of that end. The relation between the *western extension* interest and the anti-Confederation faction in New Brunswick has long been recognized, but it is doubtful if the connection has ever been given the prominence it deserves in the story of Confederation. Obviously, with the Intercolonial Railway unbuilt and the rival road completed, New Brunswick's only railway connection would have been with the United States, and *western extension* might well have acted as the spearhead for the expansion of New England's interests into that region. Situated as it was between Canada and Nova Scotia, New Brunswick was essential to any union of the provinces of British North America. It is proposed in the following pages to examine the relation of the proposed *western extension* to the Confederation movement.

## II

Lord Durham clearly indicated the political significance of railways when he advocated the building of an Intercolonial Railway to link Canada with the Maritime Provinces. It was an essential step towards British North American union, and although the proposal was not practicable when Lord Durham made it, railways continued to play an increasingly important part in the economic and political life of the provinces. Advocates of an Intercolonial Railway became numerous, and two abortive interprovincial conferences were held, in 1862 and 1863, the object of which was to draft practical plans for its promotion. Since the failure of these two conferences was directly connected with the defeat of Confederation in New Brunswick in 1865, it is necessary to examine in some detail the circumstances arising from them.

The Intercolonial Railway conference held at Quebec in 1862 was followed by another conference in London in the following year. The British insistence upon a sinking fund as a necessary condition, if the imperial guarantee of £3,000,000 was to be made, was not acceptable to the Canadian Reform government in 1863, and Canada had therefore failed to pass the legislation necessary to the promotion of the project. Both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, however, fulfilled what they conceived to be their

part of the bargain by passing bills providing for the raising of funds to construct their respective sections of the road, and they were naturally dismayed and chagrined at what they regarded as Canada's repudiation of a solemn agreement. "The engagement of 1862," wrote Governor Gordon of New Brunswick, "was of a solemn character, approaching as nearly in its nature to a Treaty as the political condition of these Provinces permits."<sup>5</sup> In the opinion of the Governor-General, Gordon virtually charged the Canadian government with want of good faith.<sup>6</sup> Monk replied to Gordon on October 17, 1863, with some asperity, setting forth the Canadian view that, when the agreement had been reached in September, 1862, the provision of a sinking fund, for the extinction of the debt to be guaranteed by Great Britain, was unknown; and that, when it was laid down as indispensable by the imperial government in 1863, its unacceptability to Canada rendered the original agreement void.

In the opinion of the two Maritime Provinces, concurrent legislation on the part of Canada was a necessary preliminary to the survey of the road, but Canada took the view that legislation would be fruitless until the survey had been made and the approximate cost of the railway estimated. On October 26, 1863, Gordon laid the views of New Brunswick before the Colonial Secretary. It was useless, he wrote, to expect the Maritime Provinces to contribute a large sum for the expense of a survey, without some definite expectation that construction would be undertaken. This expectation could not be entertained if the 1862 agreement had been rendered void as was asserted by a number of Canadian legislators. Moreover, if it were void, the three provinces would, he thought, be released from their obligations, and Gordon was "not sanguine as to their being easily re-assumed."<sup>7</sup> It was, however, by no means certain that the British government considered New Brunswick free from her obligation under the convention of 1862 as a result of the alleged Canadian repudiation. In view of the fact that an important group in New Brunswick was agitating for the abandonment of the proposed rail connection with Canada, and was instead actively promoting the idea of extending the European and North American Railway westward from Saint John to the American border, thus linking New Brunswick with the railway systems of the United

<sup>5</sup>*Journal of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1864*, Intercolonial Railway Correspondence, 16-17, Gordon to Newcastle, Feb. 15, 1864.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 28.



States, it was imperative that the British government should state its position with respect to the Intercolonial Railway agreement. So popular had the idea of *western extension* become that during the first weeks of 1864 the local government was solicited to make a definite declaration of railway policy. The views of Cabinet members were canvassed freely. The Liberal party was almost to a man favourable to *western extension*. The Conservatives also strongly favoured the road, and, there being very little party spirit, they were quite willing that the government should undertake the work. But the government hesitated to declare its policy, since, while there might still be a chance for the I.C.R. agreement being accepted by Canada and sanctioned by Great Britain, "a high sense of honour may have led them to believe that, notwithstanding the objections of Canada, they were justified in considering the legislation" of 1863 as binding.<sup>8</sup> There was a growing opinion, however, that the withholding of the royal assent from the New Brunswick Facility Bill had relieved the local government of responsibility, and that the province was now free to promote *western extension* as though no I.C.R. legislation had been passed. A section of the press which was both friendly to the government and favourable to *western extension* had not pushed the matter, for fear of embarrassing the government's friends. "When, however," declared the *Saint John Globe*, "the Petitions now being rapidly signed, containing the names of a majority of the citizens, of persons in every calling and profession in life, begin to pour in, showing the extent of public feeling, the Government will prepare either to yield to the voice of the people, or to take the consequences."<sup>9</sup> It was possible, continued the editor, "that the Government as a whole might cling to the Inter-Colonial Road. There might be imaginary promises from visionary Grand Trunk adherents; or splendid schemes propounded by English capitalists of fabulous wealth; or there might be some *ignis fatuus*" which the rulers of the Province would chase, either to gain time or because they honestly believed that they would succeed in getting the I.C.R. As the Cabinet had been committed to this "*ignis fatuus*," some members might be compelled on principle to oppose *western extension*, in which case a remodelling of the Cabinet might be expected. "The country will soon recognize but two parties, a Railway and Anti-Railway party. . . ." People must prepare their minds for the encounter, counselled the editor, and irrespective of party, lend their energies and talents to maturing the

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 173 ff.

measures that would develop the resources of the country and lead it to wealth and power.<sup>10</sup>

As the *western extension* party continued to make capital of the impression that the British government had refused assent to the provincial I.C.R. bill, and that in consequence, the Act was disallowed and was of no effect, Gordon sought a declaration from the Colonial Office. Newcastle replied on March 5, 1864. He was surprised that an impression prevailed in New Brunswick that the I.C.R. Act had been disallowed.<sup>11</sup> It was useless for Great Britain to sanction it before Canada should pass a similar law. It was still in force in New Brunswick. The dilemma of the New Brunswick government, in the face of this declaration was obvious. It could not proceed with the project to which it was committed, and it could not declare for the popularly desired *western extension* as an alternative. Nor could it wait idly for Canada to take action. The government, therefore, endeavoured to secure the British guarantee for the portion of the line which was to be constructed from Truro in Nova Scotia to Moncton in New Brunswick. But the Lords of the Treasury wished it to be "distinctly understood that the construction of the Line now proposed between Truro and the Bend [Moncton] is undertaken by the two provinces at their own risk; that no claim of any kind is to be made upon the Imperial government if the whole project of 1862-3 should not be carried out; . . ." <sup>12</sup> The views of the Colonial Secretary were transmitted to the New Brunswick government on March 18, 1864, and it was made clear that, if New Brunswick and Nova Scotia should build the Truro-Bend line and if the whole Intercolonial Railway should subsequently be built, the British guarantee would be retroactively applied to that part of the line. If, however, the larger project should fall through, the imperial government would not hold itself responsible for any part of the loan of £3,000,000.<sup>13</sup>

Although the Canadian Reform government had shirked the commitment of 1863, there were powerful Canadian and English backers of the Grand Trunk who were anxious to bring the I.C.R. negotiation to a successful conclusion. As the Grand Trunk then terminated at Rivière du Loup, and as it had no all-year access to the sea except through American territory to Portland, Maine,

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, Newcastle to Gordon, March 5, 1864.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 193, Peel to Rogers, March 18, 1864.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 191, Rogers to Watkin, March 19, 1864; *The Gleaner*, Chatham, April 9, 1864.

there was a pressing necessity that a route through British territory should be secured in the face of the menacing hostility of the northern states as they emerged victorious from the holocaust of the Civil War. This was why Edward Watkin, the President of the Grand Trunk, viewed with alarm the failure of the negotiation of 1862 and the desire of interests in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to abandon the attempt to secure rail communication with Canada. On February 15, 1864, he noted that the Legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia would, in the approaching session, be "urged to devote, in other directions, the capital to be set apart for the construction of the Inter-Colonial." Both provinces were "at this moment appealed to to join with parties in the State of Maine in connecting their respective Railway systems, and the Railway systems of the United States."<sup>14</sup> Indeed, this *western extension* project involved a much smaller financial outlay on the part of New Brunswick than did the Intercolonial, "and as it will give for New Brunswick a short route into districts with which they have a very considerable trade, such a proposal finds many ardent supporters." In the circumstances, therefore, Watkin suggested to Newcastle that the Treasury should protect the two provinces in the event of their "taking action in the right direction," without waiting for Canada. At length the Grand Trunk "sales-talks" had some small effect upon the British government, which agreed to modify its stand on the imperial guarantee so that it would be available to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for the building of the Truro-Bend line, if within five years Canada should fulfil her part of the agreement of 1862. In these negotiations, C. J. Brydges, the General Manager of the Grand Trunk, was an active participant. The approaching end of the Civil War made rail connection with the ports of the Maritime Provinces seem imperative to Canadian railway interests, but their desire for an all-British route was not new. Indeed, down to 1864 the *Toronto Globe* treated the whole intercolonial idea as a Grand Trunk "job," and nothing more.<sup>15</sup> "The Grand Trunk and Mr. Watkin have fanned the flame which is always kept burning on the railway altars in Halifax and St. John. . . ." It was noted, however, as early as December 7, 1860, that the Maritime people were "afraid to trust themselves to politicians who had the reputa-

<sup>14</sup>*Journal of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1864*, 193-4, Watkin to Hamilton, Feb. 15, 1864.

<sup>15</sup>F. H. Underhill, "Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Radical Opinion in the Decade before Confederation" (*Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, May, 1927).

tion of the railway speculators of Canada."<sup>16</sup> This statement, of course, required qualification. If the lower provinces as a whole were hesitant, certain business interests of the north shore of New Brunswick looked favourably upon closer connection with Canada. A considerable quantity of flour and provisions was imported from Canada into this area. On the other hand, the dependence of the north shore upon trade with the United States was negligible. No part of British America was less dependent upon benefits accruing from the Reciprocity Treaty than the north-eastern part of New Brunswick.<sup>17</sup> It was, therefore, natural that the I.C.R. project should have found great support from Peter Mitchell, the chief protagonist of the north-shore business interests; and to the alacrity with which New Brunswick passed the I.C.R. bill of 1863, these interests must have contributed in no small measure.

Nevertheless, in spite of Peter Mitchell and the Grand Trunk, and their advocacy of closer commercial relations, it is evident that neither in New Brunswick nor in Canada was there any general enthusiasm for a union of interests. The mutual interests of the two provinces were, in fact, slight. New Brunswick was attached to the economy of the Atlantic seaboard rather than to Canada's commercial empire. The proof was found in terms of irrefutable statistics. Canada's trade with the Maritime Provinces was but a small part of her total trade. Of the total imports of Canada in 1861, amounting to \$43,054,846 only \$478,130 were derived from the Maritime Provinces.<sup>18</sup> Exports to the Maritime Provinces amounted to only 2.84 per cent of the Canadian total. There was no trade between Canada and New Brunswick's Atlantic ports. The great volume of New Brunswick's external trade was with the United States. When the overwhelming impetus to the union of the British North American provinces did come, it was not the lower provinces which cast longing eyes upon Canada; it was the Canadian commercial giant, grown suddenly straitened by her hostile southern neighbour, which reached out towards the Maritime Provinces. In this development the year 1864 was crucial. By February 24, the *Quebec Mercury* noted that public opinion in Canada had begun to veer in favour of the I.C.R.; and it was not merely because of the threatened withdrawal of bonding privileges by the United States, nor because of

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 57. For a general account of the railway politics of the day, see R. G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation* (London, 1924), especially part II.

<sup>17</sup>*The Headquarters*, Fredericton, Jan. 24, 1866.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1864.

the refusal of the United States to renew the Reciprocity Treaty. It was rather the fear of losing the all-British route to the ice-free ports of the Maritimes beyond much hope of recovery. Such might be the result of the extension of New Brunswick's railway westward to the international boundary, a step which would link the Maritime Provinces with the railway systems of the United States. It appeared also "that some English capitalists have been making some propositions regarding the Railway."<sup>19</sup>

### III

If English capitalists showed signs of enterprise in the direction of New Brunswick's railway development, they were, perhaps, matched by American overtures, and by the influence of the United States upon the economy of the province. The author of the report on trade and navigation for 1863 noted the strong disposition on the part of neighbouring American citizens to invest capital in "these colonies," perhaps in part owing to the unsettled state of the Union during the Civil War and to the light taxation in New Brunswick. Already American mining companies were actively interested in New Brunswick, and the Albert Mining Company sold its product principally in the United States where it was used for making oil and gas.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, since the repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849, American and Norwegian vessels had secured a large share of New Brunswick's carrying business.

Something of the close commercial relations between New Brunswick and the United States, during the years preceding Confederation, can be gleaned from the correspondence relating to the restrictions on the American export trade to British North America, imposed for the purpose of preventing trans-shipment of supplies from British American ports to the southern states during the war. So onerous were these restrictions to the mercantile interests of Saint John that grave and repeated complaints were addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor by various wealthy and respected merchants, a prominent representative among whom was John W. Cudlip who was soon to reveal his uncompromising hostility to the Quebec Resolutions. The Saint John Chamber of Commerce addressed a memorial to the Governor praying that the matter be taken up with the British Ambassador at Washington

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1864.

<sup>20</sup>*Journal of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1864*, Report on trade and navigation for 1863, 20.

with a view to having the restrictions removed. The memorialists drew attention to the fact that the trade of the province was a growing one, and that imports from the United States consisted mainly of breadstuffs and salt meats, of which there was a rapidly increasing consumption, that these were imported for consumption only, none being shipped to destinations adverse to the interests of the United States. The British government regarded the difficulty as sufficiently serious to represent to the American government that the restrictions were imposed in violation of the treaty obligations between the two countries. The restrictions seriously affected the business of such American shippers as A. Smithers and Company, of New York, who had been engaged in business with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for fifteen years. Although the population of these provinces had largely increased in this time, they apparently raised little grain except oats and barley but imported their breadstuffs from the United States. Before 1854 Canadian flour had been shipped through the United States in bond, but after that time Smithers and Company had exported American grain exclusively. In 1863 alone their business was said to have amounted to \$800,000. To the Secretary of the Treasury Smithers expressed the view that restrictions would drive the entire import trade of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia into the hands of Canada.<sup>21</sup>

The signs of the times were not as easy to read, however, as might have been supposed. It was true, of course, that if reciprocity and the bonding privilege were abolished, and that if New Brunswick were to become connected with Montreal and Quebec by a route passing through British territory, importation from the United States might be expected to decrease immediately, and Saint John might "become the Atlantic shipping port of Canada for the winter months."<sup>22</sup> But beneath the political animosities that clouded relations with the United States at that time, the enterprising railway promoters of New Brunswick and Maine pursued their somewhat obstructed way. It was the promoters in the State of Maine who appeared the more aggressive, and apparently took the initiative late in 1863. Plans were offered for a railroad from Portland to Halifax, to be constructed in sections in a spirit of harmony, even if not owned and managed by a single company. Every opportunity was to be offered to the Maine interests to take up such shares of stock as they might

<sup>21</sup>*Journal of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1865*, 118-30.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 1864, Report on trade and navigation for 1863, 17.



desire. All stock not taken locally would be offered in the large markets of the United States. The European and North American Railroad Company, of Maine, had secured all necessary charters and awaited only the consent of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. As soon as this might be secured "the needful amount of stock to carry out the work" would be "readily taken up by the large capitalists of the United States."<sup>23</sup> To this invitation the government of New Brunswick could only reply that it could not agree as long as the correspondence with Canada concerning the Intercolonial Railway had not yet terminated.

Nevertheless the plan was not discarded as a result of this rebuff. Overtures were continued. Although the Tilley government was officially committed to the Intercolonial project, the scheme which had been kept intermittently in the public mind ever since the Portland convention of 1850, must have attracted a considerable following, both in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. On January 27, 1864, the *Fredericton Headquarters* sounded the note that was to be prominent in the Confederation issue for several years. Although, declared the editor, the present did not seem to be the best time to enter into closer commercial relations with the United States, it was most desirable that friendly relations between the provinces and the states should be preserved, and that everything be done to allay bad feelings. "A closer commercial connection by means of railroads might be the best means to excite friendly relations. In these uncertain times, the duty of New Brunswick is to draw, if possible, into closer relations with the loyal Provinces of Canada, though it may be for her interest to connect herself commercially with the United States. Duty and interest lead two different ways. . . ." The call of duty notwithstanding, the question of *western extension* was one that, in the opinion of the editor, closely affected the interest of Fredericton and York County, and deserved the serious consideration of all their merchants, business-men, and politicians.

Although closer commercial relations with the United States was a motive of the supporters of *western extension*, they had another which was ancillary to their main objective. They had no intention of allowing American interests to draw the region watered by the upper Saint John within the ambit of their railway economy thus detaching it from the rest of New Brunswick to the

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 1864, Correspondence on western extension laid before the House of Assembly: Poor to Tilley, Nov. 16, 1863; Tilley to Poor, Jan. 13, 1864; Poor to Tilley, Jan. 26, 1864.

detriment of the provincial metropolis at the mouth of the river. Intimations that this objective was contemplated by the Maine interests were not lacking.<sup>24</sup> To keep the Americans from carrying off the trade of the upper Saint John by extending the Saint John-Shediac line west to connect with the American lines, so that the metropolis would remain the entrepôt of trade, was one of the avowed objects of *western extension*. Burpee's report on New Brunswick railways, published on January 27, 1864, stated succinctly that "the people of Maine . . . are determined to extend their roads. If we meet them and give them a connection with the trade of the Lower Provinces and European travel, they will naturally take the proposed route; if not, they will take their only course on reaching the Mattawamkeag, to follow the course of that stream, and up the Saint Andrews road a few miles below Woodstock station, thus appropriating to themselves the whole trade of the Upper Saint John."

As the weeks advanced there were signs that the whole province was becoming exercised about the railway question. Meetings to discuss it were held in Saint John, Carleton, Woodstock, and Fredericton. In Carleton it was resolved that the terminus should be there. Fredericton favoured it, provided the road passed through or near Fredericton. The *Colonial Presbyterian* was for immediate action and the nullification of the I.C.R. legislation. The *Church Witness*, on the other hand, maintained that the province was bound for two years by the I.C.R. bill within which time Canada might take action in the matter.<sup>25</sup> None the less the movement gathered head. The Saint John Chamber of Commerce prepared to memorialize the government and Legislature with a view to promoting it. Leading men of Bangor and Augusta had indicated their readiness to meet New Brunswick on the boundary. There would no doubt, commented the *Fredericton Headquarters*, be some pressure put on the government to move in the matter. "The most enthusiastic and impetuous advocates of the scheme . . . would tear up the Inter-Colonial Railway Bill at once—turn their backs on Canada, and rush at once into a connection with Maine and the Northern States. . . ." Although no one would doubt the commercial advantage of the line, there were other considerations that, in the opinion of the editor, demanded attention. Duty and interest, he reiterated, drew two different ways. Would anyone doubt which New

<sup>24</sup>*The Headquarters*, Jan. 27, 1864.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1864.

Brunswick would choose? "New Brunswickers will prefer in this case their duty to their interest."<sup>26</sup> The province's "remarkable position—in a kind of middle ground between her sister Provinces and the Northern States" was noted. Two choices lay before her, and she found Canada "taking a position . . . that renders all her effort of a connection with it ineffectual. She is tempted to act hastily, and rush into commercial connection with the Northern States—out of a feeling against Canada, in great part. . . ." The *western extension* movement was viewed with alarm by the *Halifax Citizen*. It was feared that New Brunswick would become a mere appendage of the United States. "The New Brunswickers in laying down the rails to the boundaries would be forging link after link of a chain which would bind them inevitably to the chariot wheels of the North, commercially and socially at first, and probably politically afterwards." Already there existed a tinge of American democratic sentiment. With the new railway this "would sweep in and overflow the ancient British land-marks." New Brunswick might expand its trade and commerce, but it would sacrifice its British character. The danger to Confederation was manifest. New Brunswick lay "in the middle of our great British brotherhood so that Canada and Nova Scotia depend constantly and entirely on co-operation from New Brunswick when undertaking to draw the bond of union closer. But to introduce a foreign element would be to erect an obstacle on the common pathway" which would directly forestall the I.C.R., preventing the latter from ever being really effected.

In spite of these admonitions from certain sections of the press, a resolution was moved in the Legislative Assembly on March 8, 1864, to the effect that, as the Canadian government had "unequivocally and absolutely abandoned" the agreement made at Quebec in 1862, the government of New Brunswick was no longer bound by it. As the people of Maine were "providing for an extension of their railways eastwards towards the boundary line" of New Brunswick, it was held to be desirable to act in concert with them to connect Halifax with the United States and to link the interior of New Brunswick with the main line by branches from St. Stephen and Woodstock. Charles Fisher, the veteran reformer, countered with a resolution in which he sketched the broad destiny of British North America of which the Intercolonial Railway would be the instrument. There was no clear indication, he held, that Canada was not anxious to carry the project

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1864.

through.<sup>27</sup> At the same time, as many of his constituents favoured *western extension*, he would regard it with favour if the province were not already committed to the I.C.R. Some members maintained a favourable attitude towards both projects. But John W. Cudlip, the mover of the original resolution had, in January, 1864, stated that the merchants of Saint John would tax themselves to the amount of a balance of \$6,500 necessary to complete the amount required to put through the *western extension* project. Now, on March 30, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to incorporate the European and North American Railway Company for extension from Saint John westward to the American border.<sup>28</sup> On April 9, the bill passed the Assembly without division.<sup>29</sup>

#### IV

With the passing of spring into summer and summer into autumn, the conflict between *western extension* and the Intercolonial merged more and more clearly with the Confederation issue. What had appeared originally to be a matter of commercial rivalry became increasingly a political issue as the conference at Charlottetown on Maritime union was succeeded by the conference at Quebec on British North American federation. In the campaign for power that followed, the railway issue became clouded but never obscured. It continued, beneath the surface, to dominate opinion in the Province of New Brunswick. When the electorate, on March 6, 1865, gave its decision against the Quebec Resolutions, it was undoubtedly guided in some part by the immediate commercial interest which it hoped would be promoted by *western extension*. Indeed, in his analysis of the defeat of the Tilley government, expounded to the Canadian Legislature following the election in New Brunswick, Macdonald stated that "there was the influence to be contended against of those who were in favour of the railways to the American frontier—the Coast Line or Western Extension Railway—as opposed to the Intercolonial Railway interest."<sup>30</sup> When a Canadian member attempted to discount the American influence, McGee replied that "one of the successful candidates is the agent of the American line of steamers—the International line—which does all the carrying trade to New Brunswick; . . ." He understood that there was not a

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, March 9, 1864.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1864; *Journal of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick*, 1864, 30.

<sup>29</sup>*Journal of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick*, 1864, 22A.

<sup>30</sup>*Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of Confederation of the British North American Provinces*, 3rd session, 8th Parliament of Canada (Quebec, 1865), 658.

pound of that stock held in New Brunswick. Did anyone suppose that the influence of that company was not used for his election? Steamboat, railway, mining, and fishing interests were brought to bear. "It was," McGee asserted, "a fair standup fight of Yankee interests on the one side and British interests on the other; and those who are here ungenerously and unwisely rejoicing over the defeat of the Hon. Mr. Tilley, are in reality rejoicing in the triumph of Yankee interests."<sup>31</sup>

The *western extension* interest was one that the government of New Brunswick could not overcome. The assertions of the Canadian Confederation leaders were confirmed by no less an authority than Tilley himself in his post-mortem to Galt following the election of March 6:

At the last session we met the demand of the people for Western Extension by providing a bonus of \$10,000 per mile to any Company or Companies that would complete the connection with Maine or build certain specified branch railways. Up to the present time no Railways have been undertaken under the provisions of this Act.—And the friends of Western Extension, who are mostly the enemies of Confederation, asserted that with the facilities then provided, no roads would be built, and were demanding that they should be undertaken as government works.—seeing that this could not be done under Federation they would not only oppose that measure, but would have embarrassed the Government by submitting a proposition, calling upon them to assume these Railways as government works, knowing that the members of the govt must oppose it, and in doing so, Watters and myself would lose the confidence of our Constituencies. You see therefore had we met the House we would have been compelled to have taken a course that at the Elections in June would have defeated the Government members and their supporters, 5 in all for the city and county of Saint John. The people of St. John have been so wild about this Western Extension question, that any member showing indifference upon it, was almost certain of defeat—The opposition took advantage of this state of things, made many of the people believe that in Confederation there would be no Railway Westward. . . .<sup>32</sup>

## V

Of the many factors that combined to defeat Confederation in New Brunswick in 1865, there can be little doubt that the most potent was *western extension*. Around it gathered the forces which ran strongly against union with Canada. The facts of local geography, and of the material interests deriving from them, might in time give way to the larger and contrary forces, represented by Confederation, but this could not be accomplished without doing some violence to a disposition of nature herself.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 669.

<sup>32</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald papers, Confederation correspondence, vol. 6, Tilley to Galt, March 6, 1865.

It was inevitable that the process of adjustment which accompanied and resulted from Confederation would be a long and hard one for the Maritime Provinces, especially as other momentous changes which had a profound effect on their economy were taking place at the same time. A discussion of these considerations lies, however, beyond the scope and purpose of this paper.<sup>33</sup> Nor is it possible here to follow the story of the *western extension* project through the tortuous course of events during the two years that followed the victory of the anti-Confederation faction. With the fortunes of that faction the fate of the *western extension* project was closely identified. The decline of that faction is material for a separate and important chapter in the history of the Confederation issue in New Brunswick. A variety of influences combined to weaken it. The appeal for the support of imperial interests urgently pressed forward, the strength of the Loyalist tradition and of the sense of "duty," the use of Canadian campaign funds and the promise of future compensations, the abrogation of reciprocity with the United States, the raising of the Fenian bogey—these and other considerations, economic, political, and religious, contributed to the complexities of the situation. It is often supposed that "high-pressure" methods combined with certain changes in circumstance led to an almost complete reversal of opinion in New Brunswick within little more than a year after the defeat of the Tilley government on March 6, 1865. All that can be said here on this point is that the reversal may not have been nearly as extensive as has sometimes been assumed. Many leading organs of opinion in the province continued to the last to express apprehension as to the sequel which they expected would follow union with Canada. If "duty" to the Empire drew New Brunswick one way, "interest" in commercial relations with the other communities of the Atlantic seaboard seemed to many observers to draw her another. And if the province in true Loyalist fashion did its duty, it was also inevitable that locally a legacy of resentment should survive the accomplished fact of continental union. A fuller examination of the nature of this legacy is long overdue. There were those whose bosoms swelled at the thought of the great Dominion extending from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth; but there were also others less resigned than the commentator who, with more wry humour

<sup>33</sup>For an account of the changes in the economic life of the Maritime Provinces in the era of Confederation, see S. A. Saunders, *The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Ottawa, 1939).



than legal precision, perhaps with some prognostication of hard years to come, certainly with a belated eye to party interest, penned the following obituary notice shortly before Dominion Day, 1867: "Died,—at her late residence in the City of Fredericton, on the 20th day of May last, from the effects of an accident which she received in April, 1866, and which she bore with a patient resignation to the will of Providence, the Province of New Brunswick, in the 83rd year of her age."<sup>34</sup>

ALFRED G. BAILEY

The University of New Brunswick.

<sup>34</sup>Quoted from the *Saint John Freeman* by the *True Humorist*, Saint John, June 22, 1867.

EARLY PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING IN  
NOVA SCOTIA  
1817-1837

*We are paid for our labour in the satisfaction afforded to our readers—the information diffused throughout the Province, and in the consciousness that in after times, these reports will convey to the generation that succeeds us, very valuable data from which to judge of the character and sentiments of the present age, and of the early habits and condition of the country.*

JOSEPH HOWE, *Novascotian*, April 24, 1834.

PARLIAMENTARY reporting began in Nova Scotia a few years after the War of 1812 when Anthony Holland and Edmund Ward, editors respectively of the *Acadian Recorder*, the first (1813) reform paper in the province, and the *Free Press*, the new (1816) aggressive Tory sheet, who both had a watchful eye on the rising tide of popular interest in politics, decided to give their readers some notion of what was taking place in the Assembly. As the press had maintained a respectful reticence about legislative affairs for well-nigh sixty years, this was indeed a departure from tradition. Holland and Ward were rightly hesitant and even apologetic; but the practice they introduced soon caught on among the other editors and became quite common, although the *Halifax Journal* and the *Weekly Chronicle*, being old and conservative, did not deign to publish more than brief summaries at infrequent intervals and the *Royal Gazette* made no attempt whatever to pander to the public curiosity. Significantly too, the reports in the *Free Press* dwindled to occasional notices in the 1820's when the Assembly began to display reforming tendencies, thus, in Ward's opinion, no longer affording the "source of amusement and satisfaction" which he had promised his "country friends" in 1817.<sup>1</sup> That accounts of aroused Assembly-men demanding redress for general grievances were precisely what their constituents wanted to read was fully realized by the reform editors, particularly Joseph Howe whose copious reports from the late 1820's on filled column after column of the *Novascotian* and were reprinted in papers outside the capital.

The many difficulties encountered by these early reporters, together with their political bias, gave the legislators considerable cause for complaint, with the result that the reporters were frequently on the defensive, but by 1837 they had gained the right

<sup>1</sup>*Free Press*, Feb. 25, 1817. Ward's reports began on this date, four days after the first reports in the *Acadian Recorder*.

to report as they pleased, a right so generously exercised by some of them that the Legislature in 1841 engaged paid reporters who were obliged to prepare their material in accordance with specified rules and regulations and then hand it out to the press. Although the objects of this move—impartiality, completeness, single standard—were generally approved, the idea of retaining reporters and exerting control over them was repugnant to many of the legislators, but the majority considered it the lesser of two evils. Before the struggle for responsible government reached its end, however, the arrangement was discontinued and there was another free-for-all with accuracy and fairness scattered wide in the winds of political passion. After their victory the reformers reluctantly set up a committee to superintend the reporting and publishing of debates and to hire the necessary reporters. Thus the press again became dependent on the Assembly reporters who also agreed in 1851 to give the Assembly "50 copies, made up in blue covers, of the Reports as soon as they are completed." Richard Nugent who secured the contract in 1855 promised the Assembly "200 printed copies of the debates in royal octavo, stitched and covered, in the same form as 'Hansard's debates.'" His successor, Otto Weeks, Jr., confined himself to "60 copies of a parliamentary reporter—to be done up in pamphlet form—sewed and covered with paper covers" which was evidently not enough, for in 1858, £20 were voted for 100 additional copies. When John S. Thompson took over in 1860 and agreed to employ a staff of reporters who would enable him to give "somewhat condensed, but fair reports," there was no mention of bound reports for the Assembly; but (Sir) John George Bourinot who carried on from 1864 to Confederation engaged himself to furnish 150 copies of "a pamphlet containing the reports as they appear in the papers" and "an index on all the subjects discussed in the House." If, when looking back on the reports of himself and his contemporaries, Bourinot could say that they were both "partial" and "imperfect,"<sup>2</sup> how much more so were the efforts of their predecessors in the 1820's and 1830's who worked "on their own," without pay from the Legislature or regulation and under far greater handicaps.

The attitude of the legislators towards the first timid reporters was far from friendly. The doors of the Assembly, unlike those of the Council, were open to the public but reporters were regarded almost as intruders. Whenever the occasion offered, the members,

<sup>2</sup>John George Bourinot, *Parliamentary Procedure and Practice* (Montreal, 1884), 180. See also *Journals of the Assembly*, 1841-67.

always very much on their dignity, would order the offending printer before the bar of the House for a reprimand from the Speaker. Even William Minns of the *Weekly Chronicle* experienced this embarrassment in 1823, although apparently for good reason as he admitted that he had obtained "his information hastily, and through a private channel." Considering the circumstances it seems strange that Edward Browne had enough optimism in 1824 to ask for "compensation for his services in reporting the Proceedings of the House of Assembly for the past seven years." Certainly it is not surprising that his petition was shelved. In the following year, George Young, the first editor of the *Nova-scotian*, felt it necessary to beg "permission to take Notes of the Debates of the House, for publication, under such regulations as the House may think proper to make in that behalf." This was granted without reference to regulations; but Beamish Murdoch's motion in 1827 that "Mr. George Young be permitted, during the pleasure of this House, to have a place below the Gallery, to take notes of the Debates, except when the Gallery is cleared . . ." was defeated by a vote of 22-8. Not until 1841 were reporters granted the right to sit below the public gallery, and not until 1848, after the introduction of responsible government, did the Assembly authorize the building of a reporters' gallery.

Before the end of the 1820's newspapermen began to stand up for themselves, and in the 1830's most of them claimed the privileges and influence of a fourth estate. Philip Holland, who succeeded Anthony as editor of the *Acadian Recorder*, ran a number of stories in 1830 on the importance of reporters in British politics but left to his readers the suggestion that reporters should enjoy a similar status in Nova Scotia. On other occasions, he was more outspoken, as for instance on February 27, 1830:

While we do not assume too much for the Press, we are fully aware of its influence, and of the benefits which it confers. Among other things which renders an unshackled press so important in a civilized land, is its being the instrument by which legal and legislative occurrences are circulated over a vast extent of country. In accordance with the latter benefit, we now endeavour to give a fair and free report of the proceedings in our House of Assembly. We say *fair*, because we wish to give a faithful, unbiassed picture of the debates; and we say *free*, because neither our limits, nor our politeness, nor the usual practice in such cases, would allow of a *verbatim* report.

The stoutest defender of parliamentary reporters and their methods was Joseph Howe, whose libel trial in 1835 was a conspicuous victory for the colonial press. Not a member of the Assembly himself until 1837, Howe used the *Nova-scotian* as his forum.

When a legislator criticized reporters, Howe gave the substance of the criticism and then proceeded to reply. It was also his custom to admonish any speaker for what he, Howe, considered unfitting or unfair remarks and this led in one case to a clash with the legislator in question, Beamish Murdoch, who had commented unfavourably on Dr. Thomas McCulloch of Pictou Academy. Murdoch objected rather sharply to being taken to task by a reporter, and said, as reported by Howe, that "he should be very sorry to have his conduct judged by the publications in the Newspapers, which gave only garbled and incorrect reports . . . words were frequently put into his mouth which he never uttered, and while the speeches of some gentlemen were reported at the length of two or three columns, others were either condensed into two or three paragraphs, or were not inserted at all." Although this was in the spring of 1830, or, according to some accounts, five years before Howe became aroused for any cause, his reply rang out fearlessly:

. . . it would appear that we treated that gentleman unhandsomely, in reproaching him for his repeated and uncalled for attacks on the *absent* and the *aged*. Yet we have reason to know, that our hints were in accordance with the feeling which pervaded the minds of those who heard him, abusing the privileges of the House, by making gratuitous attacks on individuals who were not there to defend themselves. What is the use of the Press, if it is not to watch over—to reprove or to defend public men,— . . . Had the Speaker himself used the language of Mr. Murdock [*sic*], he should not have gone unproved. . . .

As regards the relative space which we appropriate to different members, we are guided by no rule on the subject. In the great majority of cases, the length of the printed speeches bear a fair proportion to the *ideas*, (not the words,) contained in those which are spoken. Sometimes, where nearly all the arguments for or against a measure, are judiciously set forth in a single harangue, we give it at some length, and abridge others of less moment to make room for it—for this plain reason, that we report for the public, and not for the House; and where we can put our readers in possession of the facts and reasoning on any question in a single speech, there is no kind of occasion for weighing down their intellects with a dozen.<sup>2</sup>

It is astounding that Howe found time to report at all, for like other early editors he did most of the work on his paper; yet in answer to the complaints of another legislator the same year he could say: "the reports which we have given of the debates and proceedings of the past Session, have extended to *a hundred and sixty columns of closely printed matter*; which, allowing three pages of manuscript to each, would make *four hundred and eighty pages*, which we have written out during the session—to say nothing of the labor of sitting four or five hours a day to catch the materials

<sup>2</sup>*Novascotian*, April 1, 1830.

for those reports."<sup>4</sup> Again, in 1834, he noted that his reports of the debates had "occupied about *one hundred and seventy-two columns, or forty three entire pages* of *The Novascotian*" without which, he added, his readers "would have been left in almost total ignorance of the measures urged and the sentiments avowed in the Assembly, and have been about as capable of judging of the conduct of their Representatives, as if they had assembled in the moon."<sup>5</sup>

Other newspaper-men did not pretend to keep up with Howe, and before his time there was even less incentive to give good reporting service. When George Young started the *Novascotian* he promised that "While the House is in session we shall issue a half sheet twice a week—so as to give the debates fresh and at length,"<sup>6</sup> and for two years he was true to this promise; but in 1827 he fell back with the others who went to press once a week and issued an occasional supplement. Reports were often published two or three weeks after the debates, especially when business increased at the end of a session. Even at the beginning of a session reporters were only too ready to dismiss a dull week in a paragraph or so. "Nothing very material has occurred in the house of Assembly this week," the *Acadian Recorder* stated on January 6, 1821. "A committee was appointed to bring in a bill for the division of the counties; and the attention of the House was occupied on Wednesday in examining witnesses regarding the election at Sidney—We shall present our readers with a summary of the proceedings in our next." Two weeks passed before the summary appeared. The *Free Press* had practically given up summaries by 1826. Ward's casual reference to the proceedings prior to February 14 of that year was typical: "There has been nothing done in the Assembly during the past week, which it would be expedient to report. . . . We shall however attend from time to time, and without fatiguing our readers or making reports which are only a second edition of the Journals, will give the debates upon subjects of moment, when they come under discussion." But somehow for Ward there were few "subjects of moment." When he did cover an interesting debate in detail he sometimes published his report in the form of a pamphlet and offered it for sale. How much this annoyed his competitors may be judged by

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, April 29, 1830.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, April 24, 1834.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1825.



Howe's biting reference to it when replying to Ward's charge of partiality in 1830:

It [the charge] is false, from beginning to end, but it is nevertheless as correct as any thing Mr. Ward ever wrote in the whole course of his life. . . . Mr. Ward has promised year after year to report the debates, *breaking his word per annum*. This year he renewed his pledge, but nevertheless, with the exception of one half column, he reported nothing but a dry discussion upon a stove bill, in which he *omitted the remarks of two gentlemen*—condensed, or garbled as the phrase goes, those of all the other speakers, and spread out at full length the harangue of his idol, Mr. Barry. The Debate upon the Quit Rent, instead of being laid before his readers, in the Free Press, as it ought to have been—as those who take and pay for his paper, had a right to expect, was reserved for publication in a *pamphlet*, in order that a few half dollars might be screwed out of the pockets of those who had already contributed their mite to the support of what they had been led to suppose would contain the debates of the Assembly.<sup>7</sup>

Several practices were in use in this period to save time or avoid the tedious labour of jotting down notes while leaning over the gallery in an effort to hear the speakers. Perhaps the most common was to rely on the published reports of others, although all the newspapers in Nova Scotia from 1817 to 1827 and most of them thereafter were published within a few steps of Province House.<sup>8</sup> The use of other papers was usually acknowledged as in the *Acadian Recorder* of February 7, 1824: "In a preceding page will be found a Summary of proceedings in the House of Assembly to the 24th ult. collected partly from our own information, and partly from other papers." Less frequently was it admitted that some reports were prepared by the speakers themselves. Indeed, once or twice a session, as Howe later confessed, speeches were thus published that had never been spoken.<sup>9</sup> Howe found that members were more ready to write their own reports than to avail themselves of the invitation to check over his reports. Deploing this practice, Attorney-General J. W. Johnston in 1841 urged the offenders to allow the reporters to report their speeches "and not manufacture for themselves."<sup>10</sup> Most of the newspaper-men, however, when weary of long and confusing debates, were nothing loath to draw on this source of aid. Ward went the whole way of dependence in 1827 when, after reporting little or nothing during the session, he procured a copy of the *Journals* of the House and announced that he would "commence a review of the proceedings of the Legislature during the recent session. . .

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, May 13, 1830.

<sup>8</sup>See the writer's article, "The Press of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830's" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIX, March, 1938).

<sup>9</sup>*Novascotian*, Feb. 25, 1841.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

making such remarks as may suggest themselves, and appear conducive to the public welfare."<sup>11</sup>

The circumstances under which reporters worked precluded any attempt at a complete accurate coverage of the debates and proceedings. In fact, Howe went so far in 1830 as to assert that it was "morally impossible to report a speech precisely as it is delivered; and that neither the Editors of Newspapers in the Colonies, nor the numberless Reporters for London Newspapers, can boast of an accuracy that would make us ashamed of the assertion. . . ."<sup>12</sup> "In England," he wrote earlier the same year, "a dozen Reporters are employed by a single newspaper—one relieving the other—each retiring to write out a limited portion of a speech, often before the speaker sits down, and always while the language and sentiments are fresh upon his memory. . . . Here the whole has to be taken down by one hand, and elaborated and filled up by one mind—often at a distance of a week or a fortnight from the time when a debate occurs; and are we to be blamed for not giving, word for word, the pointless harangues of one of our *fourth rate* speakers?"<sup>13</sup> "There are often drawbacks to good endeavours," the *Acadian Recorder* declared on February 27, 1830, and went on to explain that on Thursday:

Mr. Lawson, in the House, charged an inaccuracy in our last week's report. The hon. gentleman said, that he did not apply the words "injudicious and confused method" to the Custom-House books. Our Reporter allows that the words were not used, but affirms, that, Mr. Lawson, while paying a compliment to Mr. Jeffery's urbanity, described the method of keeping the Customs' books as one which made reference, and classified returns so tedious, that "injudicious and confused" seemed the substance of his description. Mr. Lawson remarked, in explaining the method of keeping these books, that if a number of items had to be entered at one time, they were all set in one line and a total sum attached to them. And that, on account of the method, the returns wished for, could not be obtained during the session. Reducing all this to "injudicious and confused" might be going too far; but we take this opportunity of stating that Mr. Lawson attached no shade of blame to Mr. Jeffery in his remarks. . . .

Sitting in a gallery "perched behind members, and in front of a crowd" was, as Howe pointed out, not the most advantageous position for a reporter. A legislative committee in 1841 admitted that "the present situation of the Reporters in the Gallery of this House, is not such as to enable them to hear so distinctly the Speeches of Gentlemen of the House as to enable them to report the same correctly." The limits of their time and space were

<sup>11</sup> *Free Press*, April 24, 1827.

<sup>12</sup> *Novascotian*, May 20, 1830.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, April 29, 1830.

other facts that reporters had to face, even Howe, who told his readers before the second session in 1830 that "as it is impossible for any single Reporter to write out, or any Colonial Establishment to publish, *all* that is said in a Legislative Assembly, we do not pretend to do it." Four years later, he emphasized again that "Reports taken by one hand and published in a weekly sheet, must necessarily be meagre and inaccurate."<sup>14</sup> The strain under which Howe had to work in order to do as much as he did is evident in his exuberance when a session ended:

Right joyfully do we throw aside the load of legislation which we have, for the last ten weeks, borne wearily along. Well pleased are we, that like Bunyan's Pilgrim, though we faltered not while it was on our back, we are no more bowed downwards by its pressure. . . . Truly we have tarried long enough with the Senators—let us look abroad and see what other classes are achieving. We have beside us a mountain of Books, Magazines, Pamphlets and Newspapers, that have been accumulating for the last two months, unopened and unread. Like a Turk, in the dim twilight of his Harem, we scarcely know which to choose. . . .<sup>15</sup>

The partiality of the reports was a defect that lay within the reporters themselves, although at first they or their publishers disclaimed any but the fairest intentions. By 1837, however, the newspapers were so definitely arrayed on one side or the other of the political fence that Messrs. English and Blackadar who became the editors of the *Acadian Recorder* in that year did not deny that they would "never be affected by party feelings" but said that they would always give "both sides" a hearing.<sup>16</sup> The system of "party reporting" which was well under way by this time, and reached its peak in the 1840's, was later described by Otto Weeks, Jr.: "the views and opinions of the members on either side were traversed—their arguments distorted and their speeches held up to public ridicule. So rife had this system become, that it was the habit of either of the two parties in the province to believe only the version which appeared in a publication being the professed advocate of their particular opinions, and to discredit all and everything published in any journal of opposite politics."<sup>17</sup> These assertions are borne out by numerous statements made during the debate on reporting in 1848, when one member expressed what was apparently the general belief that no public reporter, i.e. one not hired by the Assembly, "could be found who would act without party bias."<sup>18</sup>

Howe's reports, despite the shortcomings which he freely

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, April 24, 1834.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, May 2, 1833.

<sup>16</sup>*Acadian Recorder*, Jan. 7, 1837.

<sup>17</sup>*Journal of Assembly*, 1856, appendix IX, part IV.

<sup>18</sup>*Acadian Recorder*, April 15, 1848.

acknowledged, were incomparably the best in his time and when they first appeared in 1828 broke all precedent for length. Nor did he apologize for devoting "a great portion" of the paper to the proceedings of the House; but rather he was confident that in so doing he was giving the people what they most desired. His confidence was not belied. The editors of the *Colonial Patriot* of Pictou spoke for many when they said in 1828 "we feel thankful to Mr. Howe for his labours in giving us the Assembly's proceedings,"<sup>19</sup> and again in 1830 "we have felt extremely obliged by Mr. Howe's extensive reports of the Legislative debates."<sup>20</sup> The *Patriot* expressed the view in the latter year that, in addition to formal reports of debates and proceedings, country people would appreciate the current political gossip in the capital:

The Newspapers in Halifax give us the public debates in the Assembly, and we are thankful for that; but, if they would imitate the British Press, and give that which is known only to the few, as well as that which is open to all, we should feel the obligation infinitely increased. The London papers abound with paragraphs something like the following:—"It is rumoured among the Court circles &c." "It is said that his Majesty is displeased because Mr. A. B. voted against Ministers."—"The Great Duke and Mr. Peel passed angry words at a Cabinet Council."—"The hon. Mr. So and So opposed an increase in the duty on Brandy, being deeply engaged in the trade." A few matters of this description would give a zest to the Halifax papers, which they do not at present possess. Not that we would have them manufacture reports, or publish those which are unfounded; but merely let their country readers know what is well known to be going forward in town. Except the Lower House proceedings, we hear nothing whatever of the management of public affairs. Surely the country ought to know what the President or the Governor is doing, and what the Council are doing, unless the principle as well as the practice be adopted, that they are "our most approved good masters" and quite too dignified to be asked what they are about. We are aware that the Council shut their doors against the stinking breath of the mob. . . . But though the Press is thus excluded from reporting proceedings, it is perfectly understood that the secrets creep out; and, though gathering secrets to divulge, is not, in all cases, honourable, yet, in this, we maintain that it would be justifiable and commendable.<sup>21</sup>

Although no columnist with "inside information" sprang forward to gratify this curiosity, numerous correspondents in the 1830's threw side-lights on controversial questions as they were being debated in the Assembly. An unusual feature, a series of intimate sketches of members of the House was presented by a correspondent in the *Acadian Recorder* in 1837. An interesting example of his realistic method may be found in his unfavourable

<sup>19</sup>*Colonial Patriot*, Feb. 28, 1828.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, April 10, 1830.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, April 17, 1830.

picture of Howe who was then making his first appearance in the House.<sup>22</sup> After the sessions were over, the outstanding questions were discussed again in legislative reviews which were introduced by George Young and greatly improved by Howe. It has been said that with Howe's legislative reviews "the political literature of Canada begins."<sup>23</sup>

J. S. MARTELL

Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

<sup>22</sup>*Acadian Recorder*, April 15, 1837.

<sup>23</sup>Roy Palmer Baker, *A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), 60.

## RECORDS OF THE EARLY PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

**B**RITISH COLUMBIA has never had a "Hansard." The journals, or minutes, of the Legislative Council of the old crown colony were printed regularly, and the series was continued by the united colony, and later by the province; but the actual proceedings of the Legislature have only once been reported officially and printed verbatim. The occasion was the debate on confederation with Canada, in March, 1870. Parliamentary reporting, in the sense in which the term is generally understood, has thus been left almost entirely to the press.

For this reason the earliest records are scanty and entirely in manuscript, for they relate to the period before 1858, the year in which the pioneer newspapers were established. The House of Assembly of the crown colony of Vancouver Island, the first representative body convened within the territory now comprising British Columbia, met in Victoria in August, 1856. Previous to this the only governing authority in the colony, except the Governor, had been a small appointed Legislative Council, dating from 1851. Its sittings were held irregularly, and were frequently separated by several months. It cannot have been taken very seriously by Governor Douglas, as no meeting of the Council was held between February, 1857, and October, 1858—an interval of no less than twenty months, in the course of which the gold rush to the Fraser River completely transformed the condition and prospects of Vancouver Island. When it did assemble, the sessions seem to have been held in private. Though it continued to exist until the union of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, in 1866, its proceedings were rarely reported in the press at any length, even in later years. The Council's own minutes are therefore the only important record of its proceedings, and under the circumstances it is doubly fortunate that they have been preserved complete. The opinions expressed by individual councillors are not usually recorded, but most of the matters discussed are outlined in some detail. The following entry relating to public schools, under the date March 29, 1853, is typical:

The subject of public instruction was next brought under the consideration of Council. Applications having been made from various districts of the country for schools, it was resolved that two schools should be opened without delay, one



to be placed on the peninsula, near the Puget Sound Company's establishment, at Maple Point, and another at Victoria, there being about thirty children and youths of both sexes, respectively, at each of these places.

It was therefore resolved, That the sum of £500 be appropriated for the erection of a school-house at Victoria, to contain a dwelling for the teacher, and school-rooms, and several bedrooms, and that provision should be made hereafter for the erection of a house at Maple Point.

The minutes of the House of Assembly, which are likewise the only continuous record of its proceedings until 1858, are on the whole more concise. Only an occasional debate is reported in any detail. It is evident that affairs were conducted at the quiet tempo characteristic of the years just before the gold rush. Sessions were so long as to be practically continuous, but a week, and frequently as much as a fortnight or a month, would pass between sittings. Even so, adjournments due to lack of business or lack of a quorum were frequent.

The minute books of the House of Assembly have been preserved complete to 1866, along with a series of motion books, correspondence books, and other supplementary papers. In 1918 the earliest of the minute books, which covers the period from August, 1856, to September, 1858, was printed by the Archives of British Columbia, along with the first of the correspondence books, and the minutes of the Legislative Council for the ten years 1851-61.

It may be noted in passing that in 1863 the House of Assembly appointed a Select Committee to investigate the condition of crown lands. Its report was printed in June, 1864, and later the Committee's proceedings were printed verbatim, including the evidence of all witnesses examined. So far as is known, these are the only documents of the kind printed by the government of Vancouver Island, and copies of both the report and proceedings are now extremely rare.

The *Victoria Gazette*, the first newspaper established in what is now Western Canada, appeared on June 25, 1858. It was owned and edited by Americans from San Francisco, who were anxious to remain aloof from local politics. It was stated specifically in the first issue that it was "not intended to make the *Victoria Gazette* the organ of Opinions in any save the more practical questions of the moment," and, generally speaking, the paper held to that policy throughout its career. This did not mean that it ignored the proceedings of the House of Assembly, but simply that it confined itself to the facts and refrained from strongly partisan comment. The first account of a sitting of the

House appeared in the issue of July 7, and with it parliamentary reporting in British Columbia really commenced. At first the *Gazette* merely reproduced the official minutes of a sitting, with a few omissions and verbal changes, but by degrees it gave its reporters greater latitude, and the printed accounts became as long and as detailed as considerations of space and news value permitted.

Ironically enough, in spite of the care taken to avoid partisan controversies, it was a political issue which destroyed the *Victoria Gazette*. In 1859 serious friction arose suddenly between Great Britain and the United States over the possession of San Juan Island. The island is almost within sight of Victoria, and the consequence was a temporary prejudice against all things American which ruined the paper.

Meanwhile a second important journal had appeared on the scene—the *British Colonist*, owned and edited by Amor De Cosmos. Born in Nova Scotia, De Cosmos was both a British subject and an ardent democrat, and had no hesitation in expressing his opinions. The first number of the *Colonist*, dated December 11, 1858, contained a long and vigorous attack on the administration of Governor Douglas. De Cosmos contended that Douglas sought to "preserve the grasping interests of the Hudson's Bay Company," had hampered the development of the country, and stood in the way of truly representative and responsible government. In subsequent articles De Cosmos attacked unmercifully what he termed the "Family-Company-Compact," and did his utmost to start a movement to secure the removal of the Governor.

Douglas was not accustomed to such treatment, and after enduring it for three months, struck a blow in return. On March 30, 1859, he issued a proclamation declaring in force in Vancouver Island the various imperial statutes which required sureties for good behaviour from newspaper proprietors. The guarantee required from the *Colonist* would be £800, and the implication is that Douglas did not think that De Cosmos could raise such a sum. De Cosmos always charged further that the proclamation was issued secretly, and that he only heard of it accidentally, while his paper was actually being printed. There would appear to be some truth in this claim, as the issue dated April 2 is only printed on one side. As it turned out, this half-printed sheet was the sum total of Douglas's success in his efforts to curb the *Colonist*. De Cosmos astutely raised a hue and cry in defence of the freedom

of the press, and at a public meeting held on April 4 a committee was appointed which apparently had no trouble in securing bonds to the requisite amount. On April 9 the *British Colonist* appeared as usual.

This incident has been mentioned in some detail for several reasons. In the first place, De Cosmos was much more typical of the journalists of the time than was the editor of the *Victoria Gazette*. It was, as will be made evident, an age of journalist-politicians, when many of the newspapers were not merely partisan, but were the personal organs of various political leaders. De Cosmos himself, it will be recalled, after many years in the local Legislature, became Premier of the province, and also represented British Columbia at Ottawa. D. W. Higgins, another journalist-politician, became speaker of the Legislature; Leonard McClure, still another, was a member of the House for some years. On the mainland John Robson, editor and proprietor of the *British Columbian*, was another future premier.

It would be asking too much of human nature to expect that the personal views of these men did not influence the parliamentary reports which appeared in their papers; but to their honour it may be said that that influence was rarely permitted to go beyond reasonable bounds. In this respect they were taking a lead from De Cosmos. Even when his campaign against Douglas was at its height, the *Colonist* reported the proceedings of the House of Assembly with surprisingly little partisanship. This is true even of the session held on April 7, 1859, when a motion by James Yates under the terms of which the House would have asked the Governor "by what authority His Excellency proclaimed and put in force part of the statute law of Great Britain in this Colony" was only rejected by the casting vote of the Speaker. In other words, De Cosmos made a genuine effort to separate his parliamentary reports from his editorial columns. What happened in the House was recorded in the one; De Cosmos's comments and criticisms appeared in the other.

There is no need to detail the many newspaper ventures launched on Vancouver Island between 1859 and 1866. The most important of them was the *Daily Chronicle*, founded in 1862 by D. W. Higgins. Like De Cosmos, Higgins had been in the country since 1858, and for a time he had been employed by the *Colonist*; but personal differences soon developed between the two men, and gave rise to a feud which lasted for years. Like the *Colonist*, the *Chronicle* to a great extent separated fact and comment. It is

true that brevity or omissions sometimes reflected the opinions of their editors, but the reports in both papers record the proceedings of the Assembly in considerable detail. Like the *Colonist*, the *Chronicle* favoured reform, but the *Evening Express*, which appeared in 1863, is of interest because it sided with both Douglas and the Hudson's Bay Company. Its proprietors were George Wallace and C. W. Allen, neither of whom was personally active in politics.

Hard times descended upon Vancouver Island in 1866, and just when the depression reduced revenue, the arrival of the telegraph substantially increased the cost of producing a newspaper. The result was the merging of the *Chronicle* and the *Colonist*, at first under a combined title, but later under the name of the older paper, with D. W. Higgins as chief proprietor. For a time it was the only paper published in Victoria.

From 1858 until 1863 Douglas ruled the mainland colony of British Columbia by proclamation. A Legislative Council, consisting of a majority of appointed and a number of elected members, was then set up, and the first session opened at New Westminster in January, 1864.

The undemocratic composition of the Council aroused the ire of John Robson, editor of the local paper, the *British Columbian*, but his anger was increased many fold when it was decided that neither the press nor the public would be admitted to the Council's sittings. Upon request the press would be supplied with copies of the minutes, but the doors were to be "closed to strangers." Robson denounced this decision as being shameful, disgraceful, and intolerable, and attacked it vigorously in one able editorial after another. He pointed out that even where governments were not popularly constituted the press was admitted, adding: "Of all the legislators of the nineteenth century it was left to our Legislative Council to decide that the Press, and consequently the public, has no rights." As for the offer to supply the minutes, he likened it to "serving up sawdust for bread." But in spite of Robson's protests the ban continued. Nor did it end, as some evidently expected, with the retirement of Douglas in April, 1864. A brief second session was held in December, and press and public were again excluded.

At first Robson published the official minutes, but soon dropped them, upon the grounds that "as furnished by the Clerk of the Legislative Council . . . they were not in a readable form." By one means or another, however, he managed to secure fairly

detailed accounts of the proceedings, which he printed under the heading, "Legislative Council. (Secret)."

As already mentioned, the journals of the Council were printed regularly from 1864 until British Columbia joined the Dominion, in 1871. The sessions usually lasted about three months, and the minutes occupy an average of about 55 printed pages. Certain documents, including the speeches delivered by the Governor at the opening and prorogation of the Council, and any important message received, are printed in full. Otherwise the record is somewhat bare, and is often confined to motions and decisions. Little attempt was made to record any of the debates, or to note the opinions expressed by individual members.

Beginning in 1865, supplementary documents were appended to the journals. The number, length, and variety of these increased gradually, and in the later years they are listed as "sessional papers." Oddly enough the debate on confederation in 1870, which was printed verbatim, was not included in the journals, but was published in two *Government Gazettes Extraordinary* issued in March and May. It was officially reported by W. S. Sebright Green. The debate was reprinted in a more convenient format the same year, and again reprinted in 1912.

When the Legislative Council met in January, 1865, under Governor Seymour, its standing orders were revised, and at long last the press and public were admitted. Robson hailed the event as a memorable occasion, and rewarded the government by reporting the Council's proceedings in detail. Certain of the debates are recorded at very great length, and occupy almost an entire page of fine print. Like De Cosmos, Robson made an effort to confine his comments to his editorial page, and the care he devoted to his parliamentary reporting makes his paper invaluable to students.

The years 1866 to 1869 were a difficult time for those who lived through them, and in certain respects they are also difficult years for the research worker who seeks to investigate them. They were a period of depression and political change. The colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were united in 1866; then, two years later, the capital of the united colony was moved from New Westminster to Victoria. Economic activity fell to such a low ebb that newspapers became relatively few and far between. Robson found it impossible to continue to print the *British Columbian* at New Westminster, and he therefore moved it to Victoria, early in 1869. To reduce competition, D. W. Higgins

soon purchased the paper, which ceased publication. At the same time Robson became editor of the *Colonist*, which was for a time the only daily newspaper in the colony. Unhappily for the student, time has dealt severely with the files of the *Colonist* and *Columbian* for 1867 and 1868, and the provincial Archives possesses only scattered issues for those years. Fortunately the proprietors of the *Colonist* state that they have the entire series complete, and John Robson's file of the *British Columbian* is preserved in the library of His Honour Judge Howay, in New Westminster.

A revival of sorts took place in the years 1869 to 1871. J. K. Suter established a new paper, the *Mainland Guardian*, in New Westminster, and in 1870 Amor De Cosmos returned to journalism and established the *Daily Standard* in Victoria. Once again, especially in Victoria, parliamentary reports became lengthy, and it is possible to trace the course of political events in detail. But it was a revival with one regrettable characteristic. Comment became more pungent but frequently less judicious, and prejudice and even misrepresentation began to creep into the reports of the debates. This tendency was to continue; and anyone who reads the reports and editorials in the newspapers of the seventies and eighties must be surprised by the personal venom and slanderous attitude which characterize many of them.

Two points may be of interest in conclusion. In the first place, the speech delivered by the Minister of Finance when introducing the budget was printed in 1886, and at intervals thereafter. It has been printed regularly each year since 1905. Secondly, though no debates are printed, the Legislative Library has endeavoured for years to compile the best possible substitute. At the present time every item relating to the session is clipped from the five daily newspapers now published in Victoria and Vancouver, and the cuttings are mounted in a series of scrap-books. Though only a makeshift substitute for a "Hansard," these books save the research worker an immense amount of hunting. Students may care to note that the scrap-book series, compiled more or less in the manner described, now covers more than thirty-five years.

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## THE FATE OF HENRY HUDSON

MANY of us, I suppose, after reading the various attempts to reconstruct the story of the last days of Henry Hudson, have felt that it was very much like a jig-saw puzzle many of the parts of which were still missing and some of those before us of doubtful value. At the time the first edition of my *Search for the Western Sea* was published in 1908, the known material bearing upon the last voyage of Hudson consisted of an abstract from Hudson's journal, which breaks off abruptly as the ship was entering Hudson Bay; the narrative of Abacuk Prickett, which covers the entire voyage outward and home; Robert Bylot's log-book of the return voyage; a note found in the desk of one Thomas Wydownse, or Woodhouse, who was turned adrift with Hudson and six other members of the crew; and Hudson's chart, or rather Hessel Gerritz's copy of Hudson's chart, together with some stray notes by Purchas, Gerritz, and Luke Foxe. This material had been brought together with infinite patience by G. M. Asher as long ago as 1860, in his *Henry Hudson the Navigator* (London), which still remains the standard work on the subject. To it had been added in 1894 certain depositions of survivors of the voyage of 1610-11, found by Miller Christy at Trinity House and printed as an appendix to his *Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe and Captain Thomas James* (London, 1894). How slowly the parts of the puzzle have turned up is suggested by the fact that, at the time the second edition of the *Search for the Western Sea* was published in 1935, the only additional material available was a record of the trial of the mutineers found by Llewelyn Powys and reproduced in his *Henry Hudson* (London, 1927). In 1938, C. L'Estrange Ewen published a pamphlet, *The North-West Passage: Light on the Murder of Henry Hudson from Unpublished Depositions* (printed for the author, June, 1938), in which he has brought together a few more items, and particularly abstracts of the answers given to the interrogatories of the Admiralty by five of the seven survivors who finally returned to England on the *Discovery*.

These, with one or two isolated facts, such as the discovery by Thomas James in 1631 on Danby Island in James Bay, of a row of stakes that might very well have been cut and driven into the ground by Philip Staffe, the sturdy carpenter who insisted on going with Hudson when the mutineers would have spared him, are all that we have with which to reconstruct the picture.

As a foundation it is I think worth while to repeat the story of Prickett, although it is familiar to every student of the fourth voyage. We may confine ourselves to the last scene:<sup>1</sup>

Then was the shallop haled up to the ship side, and the poore, sicke and lame men were called upon to get them out of their cabbins into the shallop. The master called to me, who came out of my cabbins as well as I could to the hatch way to speake with him: where, on my knees I besought them, for the love of God, to remember themselves, and to doe as they would be done unto. They bade me keepe myselfe well, and get me into my cabbins . . . [pp. 121-2].

Now was the carpenter at libertie, who asked them if they would bee hanged when they came home: and as for himselfe, hee said, hee would not stay in the ship unlesse they would force him; they bade him goe then, for they would not stay him. I will (said hee) so I may have my cheste with me, and all that is in it: they said he should, and presently they put it into the shallop. . . . Now were the sicke men driven out of their cabbins into the shallop . . . [p. 123].

They stood out of the ice, the shallop being fast to the sterne of the shippe, and so . . . they cut her head fast from the sterne of our ship, then out with their top-sayles, and towards the east they stood in a cleere sea [p. 123].

Having turned Hudson and his companions adrift, the mutineers set about searching the ship for provisions. So eager were they in their search that the *Discovery* apparently was left to drift where she would. Presently someone cried out the shallop was overtaking the ship. Their guilty consciences threw them into a panic. "They let fall the mainsayle, and out with their top-sayles, and fly as from an enemy" (p. 123).

The abstracts of the answers to the Admiralty interrogatories published by Ewen corroborate Prickett's narrative in some particulars and add minor facts. One of these witnesses is Abacuck Prickett himself, who signs as Abacak Periket,<sup>2</sup> and is described as a "London haberdassher." To the first question he replied:

That Henry Hudson, John Hudson, Thomas Widowes, Phillipp Staffe, John Kinge, Michael Bucke, Sidrack flanner, Adam Moore and John Ladley mariners of the *Discovery* in the viadge for the finding out of the North West Passage about six yeares past were putt out of the shipp by force into the Shallopp in the Straight called Hudsons straight in America, by Henry Grene, John Thomas, John Wilson, Michael Pearce and others, by reason they were sick and victualls wanted, so as they made accompte they should starve for wante of foode, if all the company should returne home in the shipp. Saving he sayth that Phillipp Staffe wente out of the shipp of his owne accorde for the love he bare to the said Hudson who was thrust out of the shipp. And sayth the said Grene with elleven or xij more of the

<sup>1</sup>From Asher, *Henry Hudson the Navigator*.

<sup>2</sup>At the end of the answers, but he also signs the first question as Abacook Periket. One of the other witnesses is Robert Bilett, who signs as Robert Byleth, and elsewhere is called Bileth or Blythe, and is better known to modern students as Bylot of the Bylot and Baffin expedition of 1615. Edward Wilson is mentioned as Willson and signs as Willsonn. The practice of the period was extremely casual in the spelling of proper names.

company sayled away with the shipp the Discovery, and lefte the said Hudson and the rest in the Shallopp in the moneth of June in the Ise as he remembreth. What became of them afterwarde he knoweth not. And sayth that this exte [examine] at the puttinge out of the said men out of the shipp was lame in his legges and not able to goe or stand; neyther had he any hand in the same, but greatly lamented yt for that the said hudson & staffe were the best frendes he had in the shipp.<sup>3</sup>

Edward Wilson's answer reads: "To the firste hee saith that Henrie Hudson & the other 8 p'sons were putt out of the shippe the Discov'erie into a shallopp in the Northweste passage by one Greene & others of his consortes whome hee cannot name this exte beeing then asleepe in his cabon vntill Hudson came downe pinioned & then Greene & the rests of his consortes required this exte to bee quiett & keepe himselfe well yf hee were well. What is become of them said hee knoweth not" (p. 8).

This answer is dated in August, 1617, as are most of the others. An earlier answer by Wilson, in January, 1611, is more detailed:

Their victualls were soe scante that they had but two quartes of meale allowed to serve xxij men for a day, and that the Mr [Hudson] had bread and cheese and aquavite in his Cabon and called some of the companie whome he favoured to eate and drinke with him his Cabon wherevpon those that had nothinge did grudge and mutynye both against the Mr and those that he gave bread and drinke vnto, the begynnyng whereof was thus vizt. One William Willson then boateswayne of the said shipp but since slayne by the salvages went vp to Phillipp Staffe the Mrs [Master's] mate and asked him the reason why the Mr should soe favour to give meate to some of the Companie, and not the rest whoe answered that it was necessary that some of them should bee kepte vpp wherevpon Willson went downe agayne and told one Henry Greene what the said Phillipp Staffe had said to the said Willson, wherevpon they with others consented together, and agreed to pynion him the said Mr and one John Kinge whoe was quarter Mr and put them into a shallopp, and Phillipp Staffe might have stayed still in the shipp, but he would voluntarile goe into the said shallopp for love of the Mr vpon Condition that they would give him his cloathes [which he had] there was also six more besides the other three putt into the said shallopp, whoe thinkeinge that they were only put into the shallopp to keepe the said Hudson the Mr and Kinge till the victualls were a sharinge went out willinglie, but afterwards findinge that the Companie in the shipp would not suffer them to come agayne into the shipp they desyred that they might have their cloathes and soe p'te of them was delivered them, and the rest of their apparell was soulede at the mayne mast to them that would give most for them, and an inventory of every mans p'ticuler goodes was made, and their money was paid by Mr Allin Cary to their friendes heere in England, and deducted out of their wages that soe boughte them, when they came into England. . . .

[He knew nothing of the mutiny] till the Mr was brought downe pynioned and sett downe before this exates Cabon and then this examine looked out and asked him what he ayled and he said that he was pynioned and then this exate would have come out of his Cabon to have gotten some victualls amongst them, and they

<sup>3</sup>Ewen, *The North-west Passage*, p. 5. The remaining quotations are all from this pamphlet.

that had bound the Mr said to this Exate that yf he were well he should keepe himselfe soe . . . neyther did Silvanus Bond, Nicholas Simmes and Frances Clementes consent to this practize . . . [p. 4].

Wilson adds this interesting item to the tale of the shallop. "[They] put out sayle and followed after them that were in the shipp the space of halfe an howre and when they sawe the shipp put on more sayle and that they could not followe them, then they putt in for the shoare" (p. 4).

Returning for a moment to Prickett's answer, he has this to say about the relations between Hudson and his men that led up to the mutiny: "there was fallinge out betwixt the said Grene & Hudson the Mr & betwixte Staffe and Hudson, & betwixte Wilson the Surgion and Hudson at severall times, but no mutiny was in question, vntill of a suddain the said Grene & his consortes forced the said Hudson & the rest aforesaid into the Shallopp and lefte them in the yse & went away with the shipp as is aforesaid" (p. 5). And he adds: "yt is true the said Hudson and the rest were putt into the Shallopp but no shott was made at any of them, or any of them shott or hurte of his owne knowledge" (p. 5). To another question he says: "he sawe not Henry Hudson bound, but heard that the said Wilson did pinnion his armes, when he was putt into the Shalloppe. But after he was in the shallop this exte sawe him in a motley gowne at liberty, and they spake together, Hudson sayeng, 'yt is that villain Ivett [Robert Juet] that hath vndon vs,' and this exte answered, 'no, yt is Grene that hath don all that villany' " (p. 6). And as to the cause of the mutiny: "the said Grene & the rest turned out the said Hudson & the rest only for wante of victualls, and for no other cause to his knowledge" (p. 6).

Robert Bilett, or Bylot, confirms Prickett's testimony on this point:

By occasion of the wante of victualls Henry Grene beinge the principall together with John Thomas, Wm Wilson, Rob't Ivett & Michael Pearse determined to shifte the company, and therevpon Henry Hudson the mr was by force putt into the shallopp and viij or nine more were com'aunded to goe into the Shallopp to the mr, which they did, this exte thinking this course was taken only to search the mrs cabon & the shipp for victualls which the said Grene & others thought the mr concealed from the company to serve his owne turne. But when they were in the said shallopp the said Grene & the rest would not suffer them to come any more on bord the shipp. And so the said Hudson & the rest in the shallopp wente away to the Southward, & the shipp came to the Eastward [p. 6]. And to a question as to who was responsible for putting Hudson and the others into the shallop, Bylot replied: "This exte and

Mr Prickett p'suaded the said Grene to the contrary, and Grene answered, the mr was resolved to overtrowe all, and therefore he and his frendes would shifte for them selves" (p. 7). To a charge, that must have been suggested by one of the other witnesses, Bylot answers: "He denieth that he tooke any rings out of the said Hudson's pockett, nether ever saue yt except on his finger, nether knoweth what became of yt" (p. 7).

Bennett Mathewe says: "the nine p'sons arlate wente into the shalloppe without any violence offered, savinge that the mr was pinniond . . . after the mr was putt out of the shipp he came on bord againe to warme him & wente away againe into the Shallop after he had warmed himself, & many of the rest came also on bord & fetched such thinges as they had, and wente againe into the Shallop" (p. 7). As to Staffe's actions, he says, "the shipp carpenter wente away with the mr and would not stay behinde him, but said if they would not lett him goe with the mr, he would leape out of the shipp, on the nexte pece of Ice that came by the shipp" (p. 7).

Frances Clemence testified that "the mr and eight persons were putt out of the *Discovery* about xx leagues from the place where they wintred about the xxijth of June shalbe six yeares in June nexte, by the rest of the company as he hath heard, ffor this exte had his nayles frozen of, and was verey sick" (p. 7).

It will have been noted that Prickett says the shallop was turned adrift in Hudson Strait. Wilson, in one statement, says that Hudson and his men were sent adrift in the North-west Passage, and in another, that they followed the ship for half an hour and then put in for the shore. Clemence testifies that they were put out of the *Discovery* about twenty leagues from where they had wintered, which seems to have been on the south or south-east shore of James Bay, a long way from Hudson Strait. Bylot does not say anything about the position of the ship, but that the shallop sailed away to the southward. Now Wilson's "Northwest Passage" may mean anything. Hudson had been seeking the North-west Passage, and we have no means of knowing if he took Hudson Strait to be the passage and Hudson Bay to be the ocean whose western shores were those of Cathay, or if he was still looking for the passage beyond the place where he wintered. One is inclined to think that Wilson's statement must be taken in a very general sense, and not confined to Hudson Strait.

Prickett, on the other hand, does say specifically that Hudson

was put out of the ship "in the Straight called Hudson straight." But elsewhere he testifies that "about fyve weekes after the said hudson & the rest were putt into the Shallopp as is aforesaid, the said Henry Grene, John Wilson, John Thomas & the rest in the shipp came to Sr Dudley Digges Iland." As Digges Island is at the western entrance to Hudson Strait, it is evident that Hudson could not have been put adrift in the strait. Clemence's statement seems much more consistent with the facts. The *Discovery* weighed anchor on June 12, and the captain and his companions were put adrift on the morning of June 23. Much of the intervening time seems to have been spent in working slowly through the ice. In fact they were still in it the night of the twenty-second, and it was not until they were about out of it the following morning that the shallopp, up to that moment in tow, was cut adrift. The mutineers, it would appear, did not wish to get rid of the master until they had open sea ahead.

We are justified, therefore, in deciding that Clemence's estimate of about twenty leagues from the place where they had wintered was not far astray. Hudson's chart shows the wintering place to have been on the south-east shore of James Bay, and Prickett's description together with the evidence mentioned on pages 24-5 of the second edition of *The Search for the Western Sea* make it reasonably clear that Hudson wintered at the mouth of Rupert River, where Fort Charles was built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1668. Twenty leagues from the mouth of the Rupert would not be inconsistent with the theory that Hudson was cast adrift not far from Danby Island, a small island on the eastern side of Charlton Island, and that that bleak, isolated fragment of Canadian territory may have seen the last tragic days of the discoverer of Hudson Bay.

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## DOCUMENT

### A PRIVATE REPORT OF GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT ON THE BORDER SITUATION IN 1839

The attitude of the United States government towards the various filibustering organizations, which in the course of the nineteenth century launched or sought to launch military enterprises against Canada, has been too little studied. The document presented below may serve to cast some additional light on that government's problems and policy in connection with one of the most important of these bodies: the "Hunters' Lodges" whose activities caused so much bloodshed and anxiety in the years following the Canadian rebellions of 1837.

It is clear that enforcing American neutrality was far from a simple matter. One might, perhaps, distinguish four separate groups who were concerned in it. First comes the administration in Washington, responsible for fulfilling the country's international obligations yet at the same time necessarily subject to political pressures which might be inimical to that fulfilment. The second group, for which the writer of this report was a spokesman, consisted of the officers of the United States army, who were the actual instruments of the administration and who had a decidedly thankless task. The third comprised the local civil officers of government, who appear in this document in a decidedly unfavourable light. The fourth was the general body of free and independent Americans in the border areas, whom British officials tended to represent as a uniformly lawless and undisciplined rabble, and among whom there were certainly many who did not regard the neutrality laws, at least, as especially sacred. It must be added that the difficulties of the administration were increased by an actual deficiency of physical force. The strength of the United States army in 1837 was only 7,834 all ranks, and practically all the troops on the Canadian border had lately been withdrawn to fight Indians in Florida.<sup>1</sup>

There seems no doubt that the intentions of President Van Buren's administration were honourable, and it is believed that Van Buren's determination to enforce the law had something to do with his defeat in the presidential election of 1840.<sup>2</sup> As for

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Major-General of the army, 1837 (*American State Papers, Military Affairs*, VII, 587-98).

<sup>2</sup>Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1940), 204-9. General Scott's original private instructions from the Secretary of War may be quoted: "The conduct of our own citizens in taking arms & invading the territory

the army officers, they were apparently universally prepared to do their duty without fear or favour. At the time when Major-General Winfield Scott was first ordered to the border, immediately after the *Caroline* affair, his personal sympathies were with the Canadian rebels, and for a time he was as much occupied with guarding against further British infractions of American soil as with restraining American filibusters;<sup>3</sup> but there was never the least doubt of the correctness of his attitude, which the British minister to Washington more than once applauded.<sup>4</sup> As time went on, the soldiers, labouring on the border in the depths of winter, apparently came to regard the disturbers of the peace with a distinctly jaundiced eye. One excellent officer, Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Worth,<sup>5</sup> wrote privately to the Secretary of War from Buffalo on March 3, 1838: "My reports to Major General Scott . . . will have advised you that we have given the coup de grace to the miserable adventurers in this quarter. I think I may safely assure you, the bubble has burst. . . . Many, too late indeed for their reputation and standing in society are getting heartily ashamed of their part in the affair."<sup>6</sup> Such feelings, no doubt, were partly personal, the result of being saddled with an unpleasant task; but they also represented the reaction of a disciplined and honourable service against proceedings which were both lawless and discreditable to national character. The consciousness that these proceedings threatened to drag the United States into a war for which it was not prepared doubtless had some influence also.<sup>7</sup> The letter published below was written by General Scott during the second winter of the agitation, when the news

of a friendly nation cannot be too strongly reprehended. Not a man is in arms in Canada. . . . The people are desirous of seeing peace maintained in that province & it appears to me perfectly unjustifiable that persons from these states, I trust they are not citizens, should be banded together to disturb it" (Poinsett Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, IX, 166, Poinsett to Scott, private, Jan. 12, 1838). While Van Buren's own high character should be given due credit, it is probable that his administration was somewhat influenced by respect for British military power. In 1866, when the balance of power had greatly altered, Johnson's administration (admittedly composed of less scrupulous individuals) acted quite differently.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Winslow Elliott, *Winfield Scott, the Soldier and the Man* (New York, 1937), 336 (n. 14), 338-44. Scott's letters of this period (Poinsett Papers, X) border on the bellicose.

<sup>4</sup>*Report of Public Archives of Canada for 1923*, Calendar of Durham Papers, 84-5, Fox to Palmerston, Jan. 21, Feb. 5, Feb. 13, 1838. That Scott was severely criticized by Sir Francis Head and Sir Allan MacNab was perhaps not very important; but there was also some fear of him in England (below n. 15).

<sup>5</sup>Afterwards Major-General; served with distinction in the Mexican War; died 1849.

<sup>6</sup>Poinsett Papers, X, 62.

<sup>7</sup>Immediately after the *Caroline* affair, Worth had written to the Secretary of War describing the "spirit of retaliation" which was abroad and remarking that, in default of repressive measures, "we shall be plunged into a conflict from which it will be difficult to withdraw with honor" (*ibid.*, IX, 159, Worth to Poinsett, Jan. 3, 1838).

of the very serious raid at Prescott on the St. Lawrence had brought him back to the border. It must be clear to every reader that by this period the general's feelings towards the Hunters and their friends were the very reverse of sympathetic.

The most interesting feature of this letter is its outspoken comment upon the conduct of the civil officers of government. It was not Scott's first complaint of this sort. In a previous private report, dated December 16, 1838, he had written at length to the same effect, urging in particular the removal of the United States marshal for Michigan.<sup>8</sup> Nor was Scott alone in his views. Worth had previously reported to the Secretary of War, as follows, in connection with the case of the Collector of Ogdensburg:

Mr. Stilwell's case is but one of many, very many civil officers along the border from Niagara to Plattsburgh equally criminal of participation & shameful neglect of duty. One of the fruits of the present general reaction in public sentiment is a loud call for thorough investigation into the conduct of these guilty men, who, so far from asserting and maintaining the laws of which they are the appointed guardians, have lent the influence of their offices and personal services in aid & furtherance of this unholy crusade against a friendly power. Many are notoriously active members of the secret societies. In one instance a collector in corresponding with me found it necessary to address his reports to others or fictitious persons alleging, that he jeopardized [*sic*] his life by mailing letters supposed to relate to that subject *at certain offices*.<sup>9</sup>

General Brady,<sup>10</sup> the American commander on the Detroit frontier, had evidently had similar experiences, for his British "opposite number" across the river, who had had "a great deal of conversation" with him, reported: "He has all through said that the civil authorities do all but openly countenance these patriots, and that, in the event of [trouble] recommencing, he must depend more upon my assistance, or [that] of whoever the officer may be who commands here, than upon the state officers of Michigan."<sup>11</sup> There was presumably not a great deal to choose between federal and state officials in this matter. Incidentally, the state militias could not be employed against the "patriots" with safety. "They would almost certainly give their arms to the patriots, if not

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, XI, 107, Scott to Poinsett, from Cleveland: "He is supposed to give information to the patriots of all intended movements against them, & does as little as possible for law & order."

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 114, Worth to Poinsett, private, from Madison Barracks, Dec. 25, 1838. The "general reaction" referred to followed the unsuccessful raids at Prescott and Windsor.

<sup>10</sup>Brigadier-General Hugh Brady; afterwards Major General; died 1851.

<sup>11</sup>*Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, 1840, cd. 211 (vol. XXXI), part II, 124-5, Colonel R. Airey to Captain Halkett, from Malden, May 6, 1839.

personally unite with them," wrote Scott with special reference to the Ohio and Michigan regiments of the border region.<sup>12</sup>

Both in its slightly quaint pomposity and in the punctilious sense of honour to which it gives expression, this letter is typical of Winfield Scott. Not the least characteristic note is the naïve assurance with which the General undertakes to give advice on international law in the Grogan case. Yet it must be remembered that he was moved to do so by a strong conviction of the seriousness of the border situation and of the urgent need for convincing Canada of American good faith if retaliation and possibly war were to be averted. It is worth noting, also, that Scott's legal argument (based on the indications that the outrages at Caldwell's Manor, Lower Canada, on December 30, 1838, were prompted solely by private revenge) receives some support from the final curious outcome of the case. It appears that "James Grogan, George Starton West, and others" were arraigned before a grand jury at Windsor, Vermont, in the following May, evidently charged with breach of the neutrality laws. The jury, acting on instructions from the judge, decided that the defendants had had no intention of attacking any military force in Canada, but that their object had been merely "vengeance on private individuals," which did not "come within the Act of Congress." Grogan and West were therefore released; rather, West was released, for Grogan "was not in confinement having been rescued previously."<sup>13</sup>

The original of this letter is in the papers of Joel R. Poinsett,<sup>14</sup> Van Buren's Secretary of War, which are in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. I am indebted to the Society for allowing me to publish it, as well as for many other kindnesses.

C. P. STACEY

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<sup>12</sup>Dec. 16, 1838: as above, n. 8.

<sup>13</sup>*Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, 1840, cd. 211 (vol. XXXI), part 1, 89, Report of Captain Wm. Brown (Montreal Police), May 25, 1839. The "Act of Congress" referred to was presumably the neutrality statute of March 10, 1838.

<sup>14</sup>The reference is vol. XI, pp. 150 ff. A passage in Edward D. Mansfield's *The Life and Services of General Winfield Scott* (New York, 1852) which Scott inserted later in his own curious *Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott, LL.D. Written by Himself* (2 vols. London and New York, 1864, I, 312-13) almost suggests that Mansfield had by him a copy of this letter; but there is no reference, or only a decidedly veiled one, to the shortcomings of the American civil officials.

[Transcript]

*Private.*

Albany, Jan. 12, 1839

Dear Sir:

I have officially reported the general results of my observations on the Canada frontiers & took occasion to speak of the admirable conduct of our officers & men. I wish I could speak favourably of the civil functionaries of the U.S. In general they are either luke warm & inefficient in the discharge of their duties, or the open & zealous abettors of the violators of law & order. The exceptions are but few. The District Attorney of Vermont, Mr. Kellogg, like the same officer of Ohio, Col. Swain, has not been on the frontiers this season, altho' each might have found there an abundant field for the exercise of his functions. Theirs, however, have been only the sins of omission. The Collectors, deputy marshals & post-masters along the borders, are, generally, active offenders. They denounce the neutrality law & give aid & encouragement to its violation. I found Mr. Benton, District Attorney, at Ogdensburg, investigating the misconduct of Mr. Stillwell, the Collector, there. The former assured me that he could not trust his official correspondence to the post-masters—his letters having been frequently violated. If the notorious guilt of those offenders is to be formally & tediously investigated, as in the case of Mr. Stillwell, & others who have been reported, I doubt whether a corrective can be applied in time; for it seems impossible to preserve the faith & peace of the country with such people in office. As civilians, they claim to be, & are generally so considered, on the borders, as a part, or at least the legitimate organs of, government—while we poor ignorant soldiers only profess to be the creatures & servants of the law, by which we live & are ready to die. Humble as are our pretensions, I have scornfully refused, & shall continue so to refuse, to receive or to salute, one of those *traitors to a special trust*. This I have everywhere proclaimed—not that I have arrogated to myself official superiority [*sic*], or claimed the appointment of censor, but because I am the natural guardian of my own personal honour, & do not choose that that shell [*sic*] be defiled by fellowship with such men.

I know not whether to be most vexed or amused at the suspicions of Mr. F. communicated in your private note received at Buffalo.<sup>15</sup> My uniform acts & declarations, the last season & the present, speak for themselves. They have been open & decisive. I have thrown every possible legal obstacle, within my competency, in the way of the mad & wicked people called *American Canadian patriots*; to their faces, I have denounced their movements & purposes as a stain upon our national honour & faith; as dangerous to liberty at home, & destructive of all law & order. I have laboured to convince them that their projects were absurd & impracticable, & that every life taken in their unauthorized & unlawful enterprises, would be an atrocious murder—deserving an ignominious execution. All this I have enforced by argument, & illustrated by examples, so as to be comprehended & felt by the most ignorant & deluded—in bar-rooms, whilst changing horses & warming myself;—in village crowds & public meetings. Fearing to violate military propriety & to incur ridicule, which would have defeated my wishes &

<sup>15</sup>In a private letter of Dec. 15, 1838, Poinsett told Scott that H. S. Fox, the British minister, had "mentioned with some hesitation & in strict confidence that the British authorities regarded you as very belligerent & not disinclined to a war between the two countries" (Poinsett Papers, XI, 105).

object, I have called no public meeting, but have not declined one. *Patriots* & all, with the exception of a single individual, have listened to me patiently & respectfully—I might add with eagerness, & hundreds & hundreds have acknowledged that they were made, for the first time, to comprehend the criminality & danger of their conduct. I have been requested to write out some of the more formal of those addresses for publication; but my movements & occupations have not allowed me to comply.

The destruction of *The Caroline* I have every where met with as the cause or the pretext of every movement against the Canadas. This has been, this season, as during the past, the universal theme of popular declamation all along the frontiers. This approved act, by British officers, I have been obliged to characterize as an outrage, involving the loss of life; but I have always added—that as the evidence of the case had been called for by the President & taken into consideration, there was no doubt that he would do in the matter whatever national justice & honour might demand; that in the meantime & at no time, could any portion of our people usurp the right of retaliation & revenge; that such retaliation would not be in the manner & forms of a civilized people, but according to the practice of savage tribes; that the outrages already committed up on the Canadas, under the pretence of retaliation, might be pleaded as a full & sufficient off-set against that original wrong; that there was great danger that we should be met in that way, & offered that apprehension (last season) as an argument against retaliation by the borderers, & this season, against a repetition of such acts &c, &c.

It is true that in conversations here & at Washington, last winter, with gentlemen of high distinction, & once in a letter to a friend (Wm. H. Roane) I did say, in express reference to the Canadian excitement among our people, to peace societies, antimasonry, nullification, Mormon difficulties & abolitionism—all of which I characterized as “cankers of a long peace & a calm world”<sup>16</sup>—that if a good & sufficient cause of foreign war—such cause as would satisfy the consciences of our people, & the enlightened judgment of the world, should be presented, every *American* patriot ought to fall upon his knees & return thanks to Providence for the blessing—as I greatly feared that a good hot foreign war only could save the Union & our free institutions, by effectually curing our people of those moral distempers, & I have the same apprehensions yet. But I have always earnestly & solemnly protested against being plunged into war by our borderers, wrong end foremost;—argued that war could only be legitimately made under a declaration of Congress; that if otherwise brought about, we would probably find our population divided & distracted, which would superadd the disgrace of failure to the taint of breach of treaty & the disorder of its commencement &c &c. In short, in all that I have said or done I have kept strictly in view the constitution, national responsibilities & the high obligations of morality.

*Jan. 14.* The foregoing was hastily written two nights ago. I have since been much occupied with many matters of duty, & collecting facts for a private note to Governor Jennieson,<sup>17</sup> which I promised to write from this place. He has a case under advisement in which the U.S. have a deep interest.

Genl. Eustis reported to Washington the incendiary incursion made from Alburg Springs, the morning of the 30th ultimo, into Canada, by certain Americans

<sup>16</sup>This phrase is twice used by Scott in his *Memoirs* (I, 176-7, 305).

<sup>17</sup>Silas H. Jenison, Governor of Vermont. The name sometimes appears as “Jennison”; here Scott supplies an additional variation.



& Canadian refugees.<sup>18</sup> The next or the second night, thereafter, a British militia officer, with a few men, came across the line, near the same place, evidently with the intent of retaliating, & proceeded so far as to fire, without damage to persons or property, on a house which was guarded by the owner & some of his neighbors. The rumour of this event reached Plattsburg whilst Major Denny, a British officer happened to be there with despatches. The Major, who was a special magistrate, hastened to the spot, examined the offenders, & as I understood at Alburg Springs arrested the parties & sent them for punishment to Montreal as he had promised to do.

Coming here, I met Gov. Jennieson, at Middlebury, who had with him Captain Campbell, a British officer, with despatches from Sir John Colborne, demanding, as felons, three of the incendiaries by name, who had committed the outrage in Canada the morning of the 30 December—Grogon [*sic*], senior, an American by birth, but who had resided 18 years in Canada; Grogon, junior, born a British subject, & one West an American & resident in Vermont. The Governor was seeking legal advice, & expressed great pleasure at meeting with me. I was invited to be present at a conference between him & three gentlemen of the bar—Mr. Seymour, an ex-senator; Judge Phelps, a senator elect, & Mr. Lindsay.

The persons demanded were charged with arson & the evidence disclosed in the accompanying affidavits [*sic*] was sufficient, ["as to the identity of" deleted] to of [*sic*] the persons demanded & the burnings.

Many difficult questions were presented, all of which were evidently new to those gentlemen; but their first impressions were, that the demand should have been presented to the President. I was of opinion that it was clearly within the competency of the Governor to deliver up, & doubted whether the President could entertain the question—because, by the declarations of the offenders, made on both sides of the lines (as disclosed in the affidavits) the burnings, in strict conformity ["therewith" deleted] [with] those declarations—showed that private revenge was the sole motive—without any immediate connection with conquest or revolution. The Code of Vermont, it appeared, contained no provision on the subject, such as that found in the Code of N. York; but sending for Vattel, I pointed out S 233, Chap. XIX, Book I, & S 76, Chap. 6, Book II, as applicable & binding. I enforced this view of the subject as well as I could, but the Governor & his advisers, when I left them, rather inclined to return a courteous answer, hold the subject under advisement, & in the meantime, perhaps, to write to Washington—requesting me to learn here what had been the practice & what the views &c &c.

Gov. Marcy has had much experience under the provisions of the N. York code, but that experience decides nothing as to the case in Vermont; for there the Code of the State is silent. He also thinks that the person who stole the jewels of the Princess of Orange was delivered up by Gov. Throop, & not by the President. The recollection of other gentlemen here is the reverse, & Gov. Seward has a clerk, at this moment, searching the archives for that case. Mr. J. C. Spencer, an eminent jurist, thinks the matter falls within *federal relations*, & that the statute of N. York is unconstitutional, null & void. Gov. Marcy thinks the opinions of Mr. B. F. Butler are in favour of the statute, & [reports] those of Mr. Secretary Forsyth<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>This episode at Caldwell's Manor is described in *Niles' National Register*, Jan. 12, 1839; and in *The Albion* (New York) of the same date, from the *Montreal Gazette* of Jan. 3.

<sup>19</sup>John Forsyth, Van Buren's Secretary of State.

to concur with the views of Mr. Spencer. When such eminent men<sup>d</sup> differ, it may seem impertinent in me to be confident of the correctness of my original advice; but I still maintain that Gov. J. ought to deliver the offenders, under the law of nations, & notwithstanding the silence of the State Code. I shall however, as he desired, write him a private note & give the results of my enquiries.

The subject is one of great importance in the present state of excitement on our borders, when it is recollected that many wicked men, on both sides of the line, are endeavouring, thro' aggression & retaliation, to plunge the two nations into war. Captain Campbell modestly, but feelingly remarked to me, that altho', if the demand were not complied with, the British authorities would continue to do all in their power to prevent retaliation, yet it was much doubted whether they would be able to restrain their excited people. The women & children (several families) who were turned out, or escaped naked from their houses burned, were much frost-bitten, & the lives of several endangered. There is certainly a moral obligation, some where, to deliver up in this case, & policy is on the side of that duty. The only question is—Is the power to act in the federal or state government? Fearing that the former has not the jurisdiction, I was anxious that Vermont might meet the case at once. . . . I have heard, with serious regret, that your health has been again somewhat impaired by the excess of labour.

With great esteem, & my best wishes,

I remain, my dear Sir,

Y most obt. Sert.

WINFIELD SCOTT

Hon. J. R. Poinsett  
Sec. of War.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Canada: America's Problem.* By JOHN MACCORMAC. New York: Viking Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1940. Pp. 287. (\$3.00)

THIS book is an attempt to "describe Canada, to estimate her vast potentialities, to measure her not inconsiderable development of them, and to indicate the highly complicated character of her population, her politics and economics." The author maintains that "she is of great importance in her own right and of even greater importance as the last substantial link between the Western Hemisphere and the Eastern, between the British and American branches of the English-speaking people, between the New World democracies and the Old." He explains how Canada, "with her loyalties pulling her in one direction, her interests in another, she is a problem, not only for the United States and Great Britain, but for herself."

The book is divided into three parts: "The Problem Stated," "Origins of the Problem," and "The Economic Aspect." The first part, discussing Canadian foreign policy and its relation to that of the United States, will be of most interest to Canadians. The remainder of the book is largely a description of Canadian nationality and politics, and of the Canadian economy, which is designed primarily for American readers. While there is little that is new in these portions, they are a good summary of Canadian conditions, although they tend to reflect the author's particular interpretation of North Americanism.

Mr. MacCormac thinks that "Canada makes isolation impossible for the United States. Canada makes neutrality a fiction. Any day while the present struggle lasts, the United States might be forced to choose between a war over Canada and abandonment of the Monroe doctrine." Since he does not consider it likely that the United States will surrender its traditional policy with respect to this hemisphere, he is forced to the conclusion that any attack on Canadian territory would mean American participation for its defence. Therefore once Canada goes to war, the United States acquires a potential interest in that struggle which is incompatible with isolation.

If Canada makes isolation impossible for the United States, isolation is equally impossible for Canada herself. Canadian foreign policy, he contends, has been largely a refusal to have any. The result has been an inevitable following of every British lead on matters of any importance. Mr. MacCormac thinks that Canada should play a more important role than this. He thinks Canada should be more aware of her own national interests and should influence British policy to a greater extent than she has done. Because anything that Canada does affects the United States, at least indirectly, and since Britishers and Americans are becoming aware of this fact, Canada could, if she would, exert a much greater influence on British decisions than her military or economic power would warrant.

Some observations are made which many Canadians will not relish, and that not necessarily because they are untrue. A few examples may be given. "In Canada to be disloyal means to be disloyal to Great Britain. Such a crime as disloyalty to Canada scarcely exists." "The real reason for Canada's tardy growth is to be found in her spiritual dependence on Great Britain which has often paralysed her energies, but to a far greater extent in her geographic proximity to the United States." "Not yet quite vanished is the colonial mentality of English-Canadians—the greatest obstacle to Canada's attainment of autonomous mental and emotional stature. It is the colonial mentality which has made Canada, alike for Great

Britain and the United States, hard to live with." It will probably be wholesome, even if unpleasant for Canadians, to realize how others view them in these respects.

The arrangement of the book leaves much to be desired. It is a little like a detective story in which the murderer is revealed in the first chapter. In consequence, there is much needless repetition. In the latter part especially, the material does not always hang together, and much of it provides a necessary premise for the conclusions of the first section.

The style is trenchant. The comparison of the elasticity of the Monroe Doctrine with a débutante's girdle is, to say the least, novel, as is the characterization of Sir John Simon as "that frigidaire of foreign secretaries." Mr. King would probably not admit that his conception of propaganda was a four-hour speech in Parliament, nor would the Senate admit that its members who are not full of years are full of dollars. Isolation is described as deaf-mutism in foreign policy, and it is noted that "sticking the head in the sand is a defective escape mechanism in that it leaves even more vulnerable parts of the anatomy exposed to eventual attack."

Whatever one may think of Mr. MacCormac's views of Canada, her policies and her potentialities, he has provided much useful information about Canada—the country that most Americans take for granted. He has provided it in a form in which it will be widely read. He has also shown Canadians in a light in which they have seldom before seen themselves. Some of them will be annoyed, others surprised, and a few may be amused. He has shown to the citizens of both countries that Canada is one of America's very serious problems, and he has done that job very well.

R. O. MACFARLANE

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*The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States.* By the late MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Edited with a foreword by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 391. (\$3.50)

*The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples.* Vol. I: *Historical.* By the late MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Completed and prepared for publication by JOHN BARTLET BREBNER. (The Relations of Canada and the United States, a Series of Studies prepared under the Direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, director.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xxii, 274. (\$3.50)

IMMIGRATION has played such a vital part in the history of North America that it is a constant source of surprise to find, at least in the case of Canada, that the published work on it has been so incomplete. There are, of course, studies of various aspects and periods; but there has remained a need for further investigation and re-interpretation. The two studies by Professor Hansen were both completed and published after his death, in the case of both by a final literary revision, and in that of the second by some re-writing of the first ten chapters and the addition of a final one. *The Atlantic Migration* was to have been the first volume of three, and readers of the first can only regret that the others will not be written. Both monographs are marked by mature scholarship, penetrating analysis, and imagination. The author spared neither time nor pains in the collection of materials, but never allowed himself to be overwhelmed by his documents.

In *The Atlantic Migration* there are few direct references to Canada, but the

book will none the less take an important place in the bibliography of Canadian history. A large part of it is concerned with the circumstances that led to the successive waves of migration to North America; to the various motives which from time to time induced inhabitants of the Old World to risk the chances of the New; and to the particular conditions in the various European countries which made that risk seem worth while. Much of this will be not wholly unfamiliar to readers of older works, though this new analysis brings fresh evidence and fresh ideas. Other aspects of the subject, hitherto hardly touched, are ably presented by Mr. Hansen. The dependence of immigration on commercial exchange and the development of shipping is stressed. Another chapter reveals the effects on the United States of the check on immigration caused by the wars of the period 1774-1815. The positions of all parties concerned are pointed out: the governments of both the sending and the receiving countries, as well as the immigrants themselves and the people amongst whom they came to live.

The few passages directly on Canada help to complete the local picture, and to show the attitudes of intending immigrants toward the alternatives of American or British-American attractions. The parallels between the history of immigration to the United States and to British North America are equally, if not more, revealing. The arguments for and against leaving the countries of origin; the policies of the companies, exclusion because of heresy, importation of wives, possibilities of employment, spreading of disease, and added links with Europe—these and other factors are common to both countries, and may be applied to Canadian as well as to American history.

The movement of population within North America is described in the volume well named *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples*. It is a many-sided story to which two studies in the series on the relations of Canada and the United States will be devoted. The volume by Dr. Coats and Dr. Truesdell will approach it by the statistical method and will be complementary to the historical work of Mr. Hansen and Mr. Brebner. It is a unique story of interchange of population over a long period, made up in part of permanent migration and in part of constant crossing and re-crossing of a boundary that seemed almost to fade out of existence. Yet it had from another point of view a very real meaning for Canadians, for in attempting to people the provinces and the Dominion they found themselves always struggling against an unfavourable balance of migration.

In this historical volume the authors have not been content merely to tell the story, but have gone beyond that to explain the causes of migration, the types of migrants, and the results on both the sending and receiving countries. Official documents, newspapers (both metropolitan and local), monographs, articles, and little-known local histories have been made to yield their quotas to make up the whole. It was inevitable that the work should suffer from the death of the original author, and it is a tribute to Mr. Brebner's skill that it so nearly approximates to the work of art of a single mind. The theme of westward expansion is at times artificially forced so as to take in all aspects of the subject, and in places Mr. Hansen's hand had not so sure a touch in Canadian as in American history. There can, however, be nothing but praise beyond these minor limitations. The study begins with the early settlements in Nova Scotia and the period of Loyalist migration and follows with the years in which the provinces began to lose far more than they gained in this exchange across the border. There is a very able chapter on the period of the Civil War. After Confederation interest centres on the West, and the authors relate the connected movements of westward migration within

each country to the passage both ways across the prairie border. During the long years of depression Canada failed to attract numbers of American settlers, but after 1896 the vision of the Fathers of Confederation was rewarded when the tide turned and the West began to be dotted with American farmers.

Several maps assist the reader to realize the extent and distribution of American-born people in Canada and Canadian-born in the United States at various periods. The meaning, in human terms, of this mingling of peoples will be appreciated from a series of particular cases, skilfully woven into the pattern of a book which, both for scholarship and understanding, will be a notable contribution to the history of this continent. It tells of a story which is still unfolding, and explains much of the important contemporary development in the relations between the two countries.

G. DET. GLAZEBROOK

The University of Toronto.

*The American Entente.* By R. B. MOWAT. London: Edward Arnold & Co. [Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co.]. 1939. Pp. 286. (\$2.50)

AMONG writers of diplomatic history it is the special merit of Professor Mowat to have early perceived the importance of Anglo-American friendship and to have decided to devote himself to its study. The present volume is not a systematic treatment of the subject as a whole, but rather an orderly series of essays on major topics from the foundation of the Republic to our own day. Composed in a clear, attractive style and addressed primarily to a United Kingdom audience, it makes a most useful historical introduction to the entire field. In it Canadian and American readers will find much to interest them. On the war-debts question Professor Mowat leans heavily towards the American side; on the Simon-Stimson *contretemps* he is, as usual, judicious. His penultimate chapter contains a plea for Britain to alter her method of separate treaty negotiation in commercial and political matters. In his *Life of Lord Pauncefote*—a valuable work—, in his little volume on the United States in the Modern State series, and now in *The American Entente* Professor Mowat has laboured to make the two main branches of the English-speaking world understand their common past. A revised edition of his *Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and the United States* (1925), incorporating the new ideas and fresh knowledge amassed in these later books, would be a further service to a cause he has already served so well.

LIONEL M. GELBER

Toronto.

*Readings in Canadian History.* Edited by G. W. BROWN. Contributing editors, E. C. WOODLEY, V. L. DENTON, J. J. TALMAN. Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada). 1940. Pp. xiv, 378. (\$2.25)

No one who has read recent issues of this REVIEW under Mr. Brown's editorial supervision can doubt either his anxiety to further the competent teaching of Canadian history in Canadian schools or the value of his services to the teaching profession. *Readings in Canadian History* is a hopeful product of this anxiety and another example of those services. It should be welcomed by teacher and pupil alike: by the former because it places at his disposal numerous selections from a wide variety of original sources and by the latter because it enables him "to feel the 'atmosphere' of" Canadian history, and "to understand how men and women faced and solved the problems of living in the Canadian environment."



Such is its avowed purpose; and the modest hope of its editors that it will contribute "in some small measure to an appreciation of the meaning, the interest, and the significance of [Canadian] history" disarms criticism while, at the same time, it criticizes by implication the existing lack of such appreciation.

Ordinarily a book of historical readings is compiled as a supplement to a textbook on the same period by the same author, and is designed to illustrate and amplify the text or to give some of the source-material on which the history is based; but this book is designed either as a supplement to a variety of texts or as a substitute for them, in which event it must be regarded as "complete in itself." To that extent, therefore, it is a pioneer effort or an experiment and its success or failure will depend upon not only its own merits, which are considerable, but also on the co-operation of teachers, who may not feel that "the book is complete in itself." All teachers feel the difficulty of maintaining interest or a sense of order and continuity in the first three centuries of Canadian history, when Europeans are exploring, colonizing, and fighting for control of North America and our warring French and British ancestors appear to be anything but Canadian. The editors of *Readings* have admitted this problem in their sub-title, "From the Discovery of America to British North America at the End of the Eighteenth Century," but they have not provided a key for the teacher. In other words, they have explained their purpose, which is commendable; made their selections, most of which are excellent; added explanatory notes, which in some instances should have been fuller; but they have not contributed an expository introduction to give "meaning," or "significance" and, therefore, "interest" to the whole. This is what none but a well-qualified teacher could give and few are as well qualified as the editors.

Perhaps in a second edition this could be done and in doing it one or more minor criticisms might be considered at the same time. For example, if the illustrations are designed to give the keynote of each chapter, which they do in the main, something more enlightening should be substituted for those at the beginning of chapters XII and XVI. There might also be a slight rearrangement of some selections within the chapters to maintain a proper sequence. For example, in chapter VII, the English establish themselves on Hudson Bay before Marquette and Jolliet find the Mississippi. Finally, the editors have not quite succeeded in keeping the selections in perspective, although they represent three of the four sections into which Canada is constitutionally divided.

On the whole, however, this is a very useful and attractive book, its illustrations are fresh and illuminating, and it deserves a wide reading public in addition to that of the schools.

D. C. HARVEY

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

*Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis en Canada.* By ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX. Montréal: Editions des Dix. 1940. Pp. 252.

FROM the pen of a member of Les Dix, M. Fauteux, comes a monograph of remarkable erudition. The military order of Saint-Louis was founded by Louis XIV in 1693 for the reward of merit in military service. Membership in its ranks remained one of the most eagerly sought honours in the French Empire until the Revolution of 1789, though in the later years of that period it was awarded for length of service as much as, or more than, for merit. Abolished during the great revolution the order enjoyed a short-lived revival under Louis XVIII and Charles X, only to collapse and disappear in 1830 under the weight of excessive awards, and the association

with a hated régime. In Canada this honour was passionately coveted, for it was but sparingly granted to colonials, so that those who attained the cross of Saint-Louis constituted an *élite* of the *élite*. Some of the greatest names of the French colonial period in Canada are to be found among the members of the Chevaliers de Saint-Louis. It is of interest that those Chevaliers de Saint-Louis who remained in Canada under the British régime were for several years objects of concern to the new government because of their special oath, made at the time of their entrance into the order of Saint-Louis, never to serve under any but the French monarch. In the end their loyalty to Britain was unquestioned.

M. Fauteux has covered the records with extraordinary diligence and carefulness to establish the identity of all the Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, Canadian or French, who served in Canada, with the sole exception of the officers of regular regiments. In this research he has cleared up mistakes made by many writers, and he has been able as he says "to show how many traps and ambushes one has to avoid on certain paths of history. . . ." His list must be as nearly complete as it is possible to make, and will be of service to historians, biographers, novelists, and others.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto.

*Mr. Pitt and America's Birthright: A Biography of William Pitt the Earl of Chatham, 1708-1778.* By J. C. LONG. New York [Toronto]: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1940. Pp. xvi, 576. (\$3.75)

*The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776-1778.* Edited with an introduction by EDWARD H. TATUM, Jr. San Marino, Cal.: The Huntington Library. 1940. Pp. xx, 369. (\$4.50)

OF the many lives of Pitt Mr. Long's ranks among the best: at least, from its own special point of view. Some sarcastic critic once paid Macaulay a left-handed compliment by calling him a really first-class showman, thus hinting that it was mere showmanship which promoted the sale of his works. There was some truth in this, and Macaulay's *History* was likewise rather partisan; but he did attract a great many readers who never before took an interest in any sort of history. Now comes Mr. Long, with one of Macaulay's prime heroes, and not without a flair for dramatic presentation. Naturally Mr. Long wishes to interest the largest possible public; he also sees clearly Pitt's weaker side, and labels it "theatrical." Yet, within his proper purview, he presents us with a true historic Pitt: a dynamic statesman who fought corrupting politics at home; who inspiringly directed all the many different British forces overseas; and who, by defending America's birthright, gave prophetic suggestion not only of the disaster which was to overtake Britain's First Empire but of the wiser statesmanship which was to guide the evolution of her Second Empire.

No book could make clearer to the general reader this fundamental fact: that Pitt, in the imperial Parliament, was the centralizing representative, not only of the partly self-governing colonies, but likewise of all the unenfranchised folk at home. Pitt's vivifying influence on government during the Seven Years' War is very well brought out, both by the author's own text and by his many apt quotations from relevant original documents. So also is Pitt's wise war-statesmanship. During the many campaigns which he directed he made it abundantly clear that he understood how army and navy should always act as one conjoint united service. No less clear was his view that, while civil control was essential to the constitution,

civilian interference in the operations of a war was quite as bad as enemy action from within.

A few points are open to criticism. "Wolfe had stormed the Heights of Abraham and defeated the surprised Montcalm" is not a correct reference to the Battle of the Plains. Wolfe had not "stormed the Heights," and Montcalm had ordered a whole battalion to guard the very spot which Wolfe "stormed," only to have his order over-ridden by the hopelessly inefficient Governor, Vaudreuil. Mr. Long's otherwise excellent bibliography might have omitted a few entries, which have been superseded by works based on original evidence which was inaccessible years ago. The supreme influence of sea-power ought to have been made quite clear. Mr. Long does not even mention Admiral Mahan in his bibliography. Taken by and large, however, the book is a very good one; and, as the author himself points out, excruciatingly appropriate to these dire days, when the liberties which Pitt defended are being threatened with extermination.

The admirably edited diary of Serle provides interesting comparisons with Mr. Long's book, for it reveals a point of view with regard to the Thirteen Colonies which is in direct contrast with that of Pitt. Serle was the official secretary to an important ambassadorial commander-in-chief, during the most critical years of the American Revolution. The diary casts only a sidelight upon Canadian history. The Montgomery-and-Arnold invasion had come to its end before Serle arrived at New York; the Loyalist migration did not begin till long after he had left Philadelphia for home; and, except for his appreciation of Halifax as a mere port of call, the only significant mention of Canada is that she might be a peace-sop to France in 1778. But the sidelight that flashes out at every appropriate moment certainly does throw an occasional shower of sparks upon the Canadian scene. Serle was a Tory born and bred, quite convinced that the Thirteen Colonies were simply tenants of their supreme landlord, the King, whose Cabinet and Parliament, while honestly and sympathetically doing their governmental best, as between landlord and tenant, were yet quite constitutionally bound to see that these tenants never became long leaseholders, much less actual proprietors, of the King's lands beyond the sea. In 1774 Serle wrote an *Essay on Adjusting Our Disputes with the Colonies*; and in 1775 a pamphlet called *Americans against Liberty*, in which his narrowing honesty blurted forth "on the Nature and Principles of True Freedom, shewing that the Designs and conduct of the Americans Tend only to Tyranny and Slavery." For "the King, Lords, and Commons compose the Constitution, and Supreme Legislature. There cannot be two or more Legislatures of equal Authority. . . . The Matter then will come to this Issue: that the Rebel-Americans, in the wildest Delusion and by the worst of Means, are avowing themselves the open Enemies to the public and general Liberty of the British Empire." What was his horror to find that the ambassadorial Lord Howe had reached New York eight days after the Declaration of Independence, when "a little common Honesty might have induced a meeting with the King's Commissioners, and have settled all Differences with Amity and Ease"!

If Serle had lived a century later, one wonders what he would have thought of the Quebec Conference on Confederation, in 1864, as compared with the initiation, by the imperial government, of "certain Stamp Duties" for the colonies, in 1764? Perhaps, by then, he might have shared the views of his far more broad-minded chief, Admiral Lord Howe. In spite of its Tory leanings, Serle's *Journal* shows how critical he sometimes was of Tory chiefs at home, colonial Loyalists, and the King's own mercenaries too. With reference to the promulgations of

Lord George Germain he frankly says that there is an "utter Improbability" of their having any good Effect." He has no compliments whatever for some highly placed Loyalists in Pennsylvania. "They all prate and profess much. But, when you call upon them, they will *do nothing*." As for the German mercenaries, who plundered rebels and Loyalists alike, he furiously calls them "a dirty, cowardly set of contemptible Miscreants."

On the whole, this work may be strongly recommended to all who take an "intimate" interest in either American or Canadian history.

WILLIAM WOOD

Quebec.

*Lewis Evans.* By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. To which is added Evans' *A Brief Account of Pennsylvania*; Together with Facsimiles of His *Geographical, Historical, Political, Philosophical, and Mechanical Essays*, Numbers I and II. . . . Also Facsimiles of Evans' Maps. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1939. Pp. [xvi], 246.

THIS magnificent work richly deserves a place of honour in all collections of Canadian, as well as American, history; for it is concerned with some very important original evidence that sheds a revealing light upon the crucial Franco-British frontier questions during the two impendent decades (1736-56) before the Seven Years' War. Evans (1700-56) was a highly educated Welshman, with an ardent love of science, which earned him the well-deserved praise of Peter Kalm, Benjamin Franklin, and other "intellectuals" of that time. On the other hand, he was what is now called "temperamental"; and William Smith, the New York historian, described him as "precipitate, of violent passions, great Vanity, and rude Manners. He pretended to the knowledge of everything, and yet had very little learning." Nevertheless, Smith added, "By his inquisitive turn, he filled his Head with a considerable Collection of Materials, and a Person of more judgment than he had, might, for a few days, receive advantage from his Conversation."

The "advantage" for students of mid-eighteenth century American history is to be found in Evans's maps: the *Middle Atlantic Region* (1749), *Pennsylvania Boundary Disputes*, and, still more, *The Mapping of the Ohio Valley*, in 1755. Our author claims that this Ohio map, published in the very year of Braddock's defeat, "constituted a milestone in American cartography." The official title was: "A general Map of the Middle British Colonies, in America; Viz. Virginia, Mariland, Delaware, Pensilvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island: of Aquanishuonigy, the Country of the Confederate Indians . . . of the Lakes Erie, Ontario, and Champlain, and of Part of New France. . . ."

All the maps are reproduced in facsimile. And a comprehensive index guides the reader to every part of a most interesting work.

WILLIAM WOOD

Quebec.

*Rossiiskio-Amerikanskaya Kompaniya* [The Russian-American Company]. By S. B. OKUN'. Moscow and Leningrad: Sotsekiz [New York: Four Continents' Book Corporation]. 1939. Pp. 260. (6 roubles: \$1.00)

THIS book issued by the Historical Faculty of the State University of Leningrad seems intended to supplant, or at least supplement, Tikhmenev's *Historical Survey of the Origin of the Russian-American Company and its History to the Present Time* (published in 1863). The author prefaces the main part of this study with

a description of Russian exploration in the north Pacific in the eighteenth century culminating in the momentous voyage of Grigorii Ivanovich Shelikhov from Okhotsk to Kodiak Island in 1783. An account is given of the negotiations that led up to the merger of the rival trading companies in the United American Company in 1797. The United American Company was superseded in 1799 by the Russian-American Company, which secured by charter a monopoly of trade in the north Pacific and almost sovereign powers. For the student of national rivalries in the north Pacific, the book provides a picture of events in the nineteenth century as seen from the Russian point of view, though at least part of the story is familiar to those who have read Bancroft and Golder. The writer has drawn for his new material on the archives of Shelikhov and Budlakov (recently discovered at Vologda whither they had been taken on the removal of the capital from Petrograd in 1918), on the State Archives of the Feudal-Serf Epoch at Moscow, and also on the archives of the various ministries.

The writer is at great pains to stress the roll of the Russians in the north Pacific and indeed in the whole of the western hemisphere. He tries to put the events against the background of international rivalries that embraced almost the whole world at that time, and emphasizes the point that the Russian-American Company was intended to be the Russian counterpart of the East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. The interests of Russia in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands and Haiti are stressed. It seems, however, that once the author embarks on the sea of world history he is forced to rely entirely on secondary sources. As a result, little new light is thrown on the negotiations that led up to the convention with the United States in 1824, or the treaty with Great Britain in 1825, or the purchase of Alaska in 1867. The writer makes no reference even to published source-material, such as that contained in the proceedings of the Bering Sea Arbitration or the Alaska Boundary Tribunal, and completely ignores the existence of such collections as the Bagot papers in the Public Archives of Canada or the records of the Russian-American Company in the National Archives in Washington. The book succeeds, therefore, in filling gaps in the present picture rather than in giving a new and definitive interpretation.

STUART R. TOMPKINS

University of Oklahoma.

*The Territorial Papers of the United States.* Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Vol. VII: *The Territory of Indiana, 1800-1810*. Vol. VIII: *The Territory of Indiana, 1810-1816*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1939. Pp. xi, 784; viii, 496. (\$2.00; \$1.50)

THESE volumes contain a selection of papers relating to the Territory of Indiana from 1800 to 1816. The correspondence between the federal and territorial officers discloses a continuous stream of administrative problems relating to the application of land laws, to the disposition of cases of intruders and squatters, to the extension of postal facilities, and to the organization of local governments.

Of greatest interest to Canadian readers are the papers which relate to trade and Indian affairs. The editor states in his preface that relatively little of the available material on these subjects has been included as it is outside the scope of the work contemplated. The depositions and correspondence which have been printed give, however, a good deal of evidence to support the contention that Canadian traders were active in the Indiana Territory in these years, not only in preserving their own interests, but in stirring up animosity among the tribes

against the incoming American settlers. The evidence seems to indicate that the westward movement and Indian relations deserve more attention than they have been receiving in studies of the origin of the war of 1812. As an illustration, the Secretary of War wrote to Governor Harrison on September 18, 1811: "It is presumed that the British will not be found to have assisted the Indians, otherwise than by having furnished them on their visits to their settlements, with provisions and ammunition, perhaps with arms. In the present delicate posture of our relations with that nation, it is peculiarly desirable that no act should be committed, which may be construed into an aggression on our part." It would also appear that the Prophet's revolt was not entirely unconnected with the outbreak of war in the following year.

R. O. MACFARLANE

The University of Manitoba.

*The Dunlops of Dunlop and of Auchenskaith, Keppoch, and Gairbraid.* By J. G. DUNLOP. (The Dunlop Papers, vol. II.) Frome and London: Butler & Tanner (Privately printed). 1939. Pp. x, 408.

THIS is a family history widely extended, and its Canadian interest lies in its biographies of Robert Graham Dunlop, R.N., and "Tiger Wull," Dr. William Dunlop, whose names are so much in the story of the pioneer Huron Tract and the Canada Company. These Dunlops, it would appear, are of ancient origin, and have a patronymic derived from Dunlop in Ayrshire, the Celtic "dun-laib," the hill at the turn or bend. The first recorded of the name of Dunlop was Dom Gulielmus de Dunlop who appears as a party to an indenture. It bears the date 1260.

Strewn through the book are half a hundred portraits and one wonders what other family can show so many women of beauty and men of character—fighting men on sea and land, men of affairs, professors, college presidents, great preachers. It was to these last that "Tiger Wull," it will be recalled, paid his respects in his savage will. Not all of them were lovable, and one at least drove intolerance to the depth of compelling a sick woman to be carried to church in her bed in proof that she was free of popery.

Intimate letters from Burns are quoted; Scott, Christopher North, and Carlyle pass through the pages. Yes, and Jeanie Welsh. William was very fond of his little cousin. In the spring of 1833 when he was about to return to Canada after a visit to annoy Goderich and Howick, he called on the Carlyles, Jean and Thomas. "There was ushered in," says the record, "an enormous giant of a man with long red hair: so strange and immense did he look at first sight, and like an ogre, that Carlyle felt timorous, expecting he would proceed to devour some of the party: while his wife made one spring on this tremendous apparition and caught him round the neck and embraced him." Leigh Hunt recorded for the ages a similar experience:

Jenny kissed me when we met  
 Jumping from the chair she sat in;  
 Time, you thief, who love to write  
 All things in your book, put that in:  
 Say I'm weary, say I'm sad;  
 Say that wealth and health have missed me:  
 Say I'm getting old: but add  
 Jennie kissed me.



William, the third son of Alexander Dunlop and Janet Graham, was born on November 19, 1792. At fourteen he began his studies at Glasgow University. Even at that early age he began his connection with Mrs. Grant's literary coterie and with the Blackwood group. When twenty he passed examination at London for the army medical services. That was the equipment, literary and scholastic, with which he set out into the world—to India, and later to Canada where he became the most interesting and the most picturesque figure the Queen's Bush was ever to know. For the tale of life in Canada the author leans heavily on the Misses Lizars's *In the days of the Canada Company*.

Alexander Dunlop at the age of twenty-two married Janet, daughter of Captain Robert Graham of Kilmanan. She died in 1795 at the age of twenty-six years, leaving four children, the eldest of whom was six years of age. By a subsequent marriage he had eleven children. He was a man of large affairs, founder of a bank, an industrialist and a public-spirited citizen. He died in December, 1840, a bankrupt or nearly so, for a short time later his bank closed its doors with a deficit of £324,000.

LOUIS BLAKE DUFF

*Histoire du Canada pour tous.* By JEAN BRUCHESI. Vol. II: *Le Régime anglais.* (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Editions de L'Action canadienne-français. 1940. Pp. 364.

THE first volume of this work was published in 1933 and reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (September, 1934, p. 307). The second volume carries the story of Canada from 1760-1935, and treats it in three parts: "Le Miracle Canadien (1760-1815)," "Liberté (1815-1864)," and "La Puissance du Canada (1864-1935)." It is strictly political history, making no pretence at reporting anything very new, sticking closely to the constitutional view throughout, and concerned nearly altogether with the old province of Canada.

The author states his aims clearly. They are, to present "without notes, references or dates except where necessary the story of events which in 175 years have marked the political, social and economic evolution of Canada." It cannot be said, however, that the author has quite accomplished his purpose. Little or no attention, for example, is paid to the economic evolution of Canada, in any serious sense. The railways have a short chapter, reciprocity in 1854 is mentioned, and there are, of course, occasional allusions to other economic events; but there is no explanation of their broad significance, or of the relative importance of economic influences in Canada's development. It is noteworthy, too, that in the short bibliography no economic study or collection of documents is mentioned. There is a similar neglect of the influence of the United States on Canada's national development: and the Maritime Provinces, the West, and British Columbia receive singularly little notice.

Nevertheless, it would be "a good thing" if more English Canadians would read this work than are likely to do so. Its emphasis and interpretations would probably be as strange to most English-Canadian general readers as the French in which it is written. A few examples will illustrate. In respect of the Act of Union which became effective in 1841, the author remarks: "The French Canadians [canadiens] had been conquered a second time" (p. 183). With regard to Confederation he observes: "From the point of view of fact and equity and in the spirit of its authors, the constitution of 1867 was the result of a pact of honour

[pacte d'honneur] between the victors and the vanquished of 1763" (p. 247). Confederation, too, appears in a light that would be unfamiliar to English-Canadian readers. By most of them it is probably regarded as a work of national construction full of economic and political possibilities. M. Bruchesi's analysis stresses the confederation agreement's insufficient definition of French language rights and the disturbing lack of precision about educational privileges outside Quebec. One of the most interesting chapters to an English Canadian is that headed "L'Ecole, Champ de Bataille" which tells most illuminatingly "the history of the school conflicts of Canada outside Quebec, where nothing of this kind occurs. A story lamentable for the fanaticism, pettinesses, weakness and cowardice it reveals, but a story fine and precious for the heroism that it brings to light and by the lesson it offers to those who are not afraid to struggle." To find education treated in a Canadian history on such a scale, and with such a marked sense of its historical importance, is a refreshing and novel experience.

M. Bruchesi's work is written "pour tous": it is intended to present a French-Canadian point of view, but within this limit it maintains a fine objectivity. Telling a story familiar enough in outline, and making no effort to be complex or over-subtle, the author nevertheless sprinkles his pages with many piquant observations, very quotable, and instinct with his keen sense of pride in "le miracle canadien." One may be quoted: it ends the book. "It has been said the history of France is a lesson in hope. So also is that which we have undertaken to tell. But a lesson of hope is only valuable in so far as it evokes action, and 'si nécessaire, . . . la réaction.'"

The volume has no index and only one rather "modernistic" map.

T. W. L. MACDERMOT

Toronto.

*Histoire de la Province de Québec. I. Georges-Étienne Cartier.* By ROBERT RUMILLY. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1940. Pp. 365. (\$1.00)

AFTER so successfully appearing as the biographer of Quebecers, M. Rumilly has essayed the more exacting role of historian of Quebec. Within its self-imposed limits, the first volume of this provincial history is an enviable achievement. It is the political scene that fascinates the author, and the picture of parliamentary ebb and flow between 1867 and 1874 which he gives is a lively one. Recognizing that no province can live to itself, he traces the repercussions of external events on Quebec, notably the Red River Rebellion and the controversy over the New Brunswick schools. It is unfortunate that he has dealt less fully with the relations of Quebec and Ontario, for their dissensions especially on the subject of the old Canadian debt were of formidable consequence. In the more local field, M. Rumilly has illuminated a number of little-understood problems, such as the convoluted struggle for a French and Catholic university at Montreal and the epic combat over the division of the historic parish of Notre Dame. In no point, however, has he been more successful than in making intelligible the tangled no-man's land between ecclesiastical and lay politics where Mgr Lafèche upheld his forlorn hopes, Cartier mustered his big battalions, and MM. F. X. Trudel and Pantaléon Pelletier exploded their resounding brochures. Here we have, not merely the fact, but the authentic spirit, of Quebec political affairs. There are some incidental, and first-class, portraits. Where was George Brown ever hit off better than, "il était grand sous trois dimensions, hauteur, largeur et épaisseur"?

In so much that is admirable, however, there is some ground for complaint.

M. Rumilly's thesis, "les plus grands conflits qui s'étaient produits . . . au pays canadien n'étaient pas . . . des conflits d'idées . . . c'étaient au fond, des conflits de race," is not only inadequate, it is old-fashioned. Hence, the carefully prepared chapters on the economic growth of Quebec become merely elaborate backdrops rather than the motivating forces of social and political action. Elaboration, and over elaboration, of details is, perhaps, the principal shortcoming of the book. It obscures the march of the narrative and it shrouds the chief figure, George Etienne Cartier. One would suppose that he merited the same brilliant treatment accorded the minor characters.

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

McGill University.

*James Douglas: A Memoir.* By H. H. LANGTON. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press (privately printed). 1940. Pp. 130.

THIS book of one hundred and twenty-three pages provides a very interesting account of the private life and the industrial activities of a remarkable Canadian. James Douglas, the son of a Scottish surgeon noted both for philanthropy and professional ability, was born in 1837 in Quebec City. His career was marked by a peculiar combination in education, aptitudes, and experiences quite unlike that found in the lives of most men. His higher education began in an Arts course in Queen's University, which was followed by training in theology at Edinburgh University in preparation for the Presbyterian ministry. Douglas reached the stage of licentiate in the church but was never ordained because he found difficulty in subscribing fully to the Confession of Faith. He then entered Laval University with the intention of becoming a doctor so that he might follow his father in the great humane work he was doing for the insane. His medical career closed, however, at the end of two years, when the government changed the plans for the care of mental patients. He then came under the influence of T. Sterry Hunt, a famous chemist and geologist. This association had far-reaching effects because they together worked out and patented new methods for the treatment of ores, especially those of copper. The ease with which Douglas shifted to the mining industry and the energy and ability displayed in his early, and at times very discouraging, experiences with the mining and metallurgical plants at Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, gave indications of his future possibilities and help to explain his rise to one of the highest pinnacles attained by men in the mining industry. His scrupulous honesty seems to have inspired all his associates, and his part in the initial developments of some of the large copper mines of Arizona, in the building of railroads to serve the mining camps, and in the improvement of metallurgical processes, led him to the presidency of the great Phelps Dodge Corporation.

When financial success had been attained Douglas gave liberally to universities, hospitals, libraries, and other institutions, and he also maintained a keen interest in the aspirations of young men and in the affairs of his employees. His interest in literary, historical, social, and technological subjects was remarkable in view of his heavy responsibilities in the creation and maintenance of great industrial enterprises. Although he left Canada for the United States early in his career, he retained citizenship in his native land and never lost touch with Canadian affairs. His interest was indicated by munificent gifts to universities, by very substantial support given to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, by the writing of many articles for newspapers and journals, and of three books—

*Canadian Independence* (1894), *Old France in the New World* (1925), and *New France and New England* (1913).

This memoir is full of human interest, and contains much information relating to one period in the history of Quebec and to the early development of the mining industry in America. The life of James Douglas should also prove to be an inspiration to young Canadians entering on industrial careers.

E. S. MOORE

The University of Toronto.

*Persons, Papers and Things: Being the Casual Recollections of a Journalist with Some Flounderings in Philosophy.* By PAUL BILKEY. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 235. (\$2.50)

PAUL BILKEY, editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, has here set down impressions and incidents gleaned from his more than forty years' experience in newspaper work, during part of which time he was a member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery at Ottawa. His narrative is not of the "now it can be told" type. Rather it is a chatty, informal record of men and events which came under his own eye. Early chapters provide entertaining comments upon the Toronto of the nineties and the people who were then prominent in its civic activities. Chiefly, however, the book reflects the period during which the author was at Ottawa.

The Laurier government was at the height of its power when Mr. Bilkey, in 1903, first entered the Press Gallery as the representative of the *Toronto Telegram*. Sir Robert Borden (Mr. Borden at that time), was new in the party leadership, and not fully accepted by some of the relics of the old Conservative administration still in the House. The transcontinental railway project was about to be launched in Parliament, to the accompaniment of public utterances which would be humorous today were their later consequences not so tragic. It was the era of Fielding and Sifton, Cartwright, Mulock, and the other members of the "cabinet of all the talents." Mr. Bilkey saw most of that original Cabinet disappear, some with honour, some in dishonour. He was there to see the launching of reciprocity, the downfall of the Laurier administration, the entry into power of the Conservatives, and the oncoming of war. On these and many other events he makes shrewd comment, as also on the public men who came under his notice. He is a warm admirer of Mr. Meighen whose intellect he believes "has not its better in this country and perhaps not its peer." Mr. King he characterizes as "a first rate boxer but never a hard hitter," possessing an uncanny knack of sensing public opinion but "not likely to be remembered as either a great leader or a great prime minister." This opinion, it should be said, was expressed before the present war came. For Mr. Bennett he has no liking. "Pompous and dictatorial" are adjectives used in reference to him.

Mr. Bilkey disclaims any attempt to write a history of the period upon which he has fixed his attention. He has made no startling revelations of events hitherto clouded, although on pages 156-60 is printed some personal correspondence dealing with one of the less pleasant episodes of Canada's war effort after 1914. The book is, however, one of considerable interest and possesses a style that is to be commended. There is no index.

FRED LONDON

The University of Western Ontario.

*Canada's Jews.* By LOUIS ROSENBERG. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress. 1939. Pp. xxix, 418. (\$2.50)

THE study of ethnic groups in North American countries is attracting ever greater attention. In Canada we have had intensive studies of such groups as the Ukrainians and the Japanese, and interpretations of many groups by writers like Murray Gibbon and Watson Kirkconnell. But none of these ethnic groups has been submitted to a more complete statistical analysis than Canada's Jewish population, and in this case at least we have a body of factual material to present to those who generalize on their random impressions or personal experiences. Since the Canadian decennial censuses recognize the existence of the *Jews* as a religious group and of *Hebrews* as a racial group, it is possible to secure much more information about the Jews than about any other group. No thorough study of all the statistical data available was attempted, however, before the census of 1931. Mr. Rosenberg has thus rendered a great service which, perhaps, could only be done in a country like Canada. The United States has no such authentic material because it does not have the same interest as has Canada in "racial" backgrounds, except in so far as people are "whites, Negroes, Indians or Orientals"; nor does the United States have information about religious bodies except such as the individual communions themselves possess, or think they possess. In view of these facts, it will be possible through future censuses, to indicate the cultural trends of Canadian Jewry with unusual accuracy, and similar studies might well be made of other groups in Canadian life. The historical material offered is somewhat slight, except when the author compares the figures for 1931 with those of preceding censuses. This at least provides us with a fair picture of the gradual settlement of Jews in Canada.

Chapter III provides a brief historical note. Here there is mention of the two Jews of Bordeaux, David and Abraham Gradis, who were intimately connected with the trade between France and New France; of the Chevalier Henri de Levis who, according to legend, was not a "pure Aryan"; of the Jewish girl who, dressed as a boy, landed in Quebec in 1738 but was promptly deported to France when her secret was disclosed. We are also told of Sir Alexander Schomberg, the son of a German Jewish physician, who was captain of His Majesty's frigate *Diana* which accompanied the army of Wolfe to Quebec, and of Aaron Hart, commissary officer on the staff of General Amherst when he entered Montreal in 1760. There is mention also of a number of Jewish families whose names are found frequently in the "commercial and political records of Canada in the second half of the eighteenth century."

The volume, despite its appalling list of statistical tables, is an extraordinary publication and ought to be on the desk of all students of inter-group relations.

C. E. SILCOX

Toronto.

*The Story of Advertising in Canada: A Chronicle of Fifty Years.* By H. E. STEPHENSON and CARLTON McNAUGHT. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 364. (\$3.50)

THE A. McKim Advertising Agency was the first to be established in Canada and the services which it has rendered to Canadian advertising are well known. Its fiftieth anniversary, celebrated last year, marked an important milestone in the history of the business; and it is to commemorate this occasion that two members of the Agency's staff have produced *The Story of Advertising in Canada*.

Quite naturally the book devotes considerable space to the foundation and history of the Agency, and ends with a chapter which is a frank advertisement of the services it renders.

The book seeks to support the following thesis, stated in the authors' preface: "During that eventful half century (1889-1939) advertising has evolved from a feeble and more or less slighted auxiliary of selling into a powerful and well-organized business and social force. Without advertising, the extent and pace of Canada's economic development would have been less great. The role of advertising in promoting industrial growth and in changing social habits has been impressive. Today, it is an accepted and expertly-directed instrumentality in the selling of goods and services and in the dissemination of ideas." The authors may be said to illustrate this contention rather than prove it. As men who are themselves engaged in the practical business of producing advertising, they assume the existence and even the growth of their own craft, and, turning their back on it, look out upon the business world in which advertising plays its part.

The first half of the book is devoted to describing the small beginnings of various commercial enterprises and their subsequent development. "In this transformation . . . the activating force which, harnessed to improvements in designing and manufacture, caused the old ways to be discarded and the new to become the rule, has been advertising." "Harnessed" is the significant word. Advertising is a multiplier, a sounding board, even, in skilful hands, a moulder of opinion, but not a creative force. In the same way the authors examine the Canadian market, the Canadian newspapers and somewhat cursorily other Canadian advertising media, from the point of view of business.

The reproductions of typical advertisements, to which some one hundred and twenty pages are devoted, will be of general interest. These cover the last fifty years and reflect the popular taste of the last two generations. It is to be regretted, however, that most of the advertisements are reproduced in such small size that a magnifying glass is necessary to read the copy and that the examples given are drawn almost exclusively from newspapers and periodicals. Few examples of Canadian advertising art are reproduced and none of Canadian advertising literature or printing.

Those whose memories go back forty to fifty years will find the account of some of the earlier aspects of Canadian merchandising interesting, and those engaged in advertising, reading between the lines, will no doubt recall much that the authors have found it foreign to their purpose to discuss.

GEOFFREY CARTER

Toronto.

*A Short History of Canadian Art.* By GRAHAM McINNES. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1939. Pp. xiv, 125. (\$2.00)

MR. McINNES's work is really a dual history: a review of artistic achievement in Canada, combined with an account of the organizations which were a product of art activity and which stimulated or restricted it. Canadian sculpture of any importance divides into three groups, French-Canadian, Indian, and modern; and no attempt can be made to relate them. But painting in Canada has a continuous history; and, by avoiding irrelevant anecdote, Mr. McInnes makes this continuity clear. The tedious development is shown, from the early recording of scenery and picturesque inhabitants, through the long period in which manner and even matter derived from the Royal Academy or the Paris Salon, to the



creation of an art specifically Canadian. Undeniably Morrice is the first artist whose work is of permanent aesthetic interest beyond Canada's borders, but Mr. McInnes treats his predecessors with patience and an admirable perspective, evidenced in direct criticism and indirectly in the proportioning of space. Of greater historical importance in this period are the rise and collapse, the rise and growth, of innumerable art clubs and societies, culminating in the unpredicted educational and cultural activity of the National Gallery during the past thirty years. The now scarcely controversial work of the Group of Seven is dispassionately criticized, and the author stresses the value of the crusading fervour of the Group in encouraging painters to look with fresh eyes on Canadian landscapes. In the last twenty-five years something has been produced that at Wembley, in Paris and Buenos Aires, in the southern Dominions, and in London and New York, is recognizable as Canadian and recognized as art.

Mr. McInnes would have been wiser to end his "Short History" a few years before the date of publication—perhaps with the year 1933, in which the Group of Seven lost its force in a larger group. By referring to sixty additional artists in four pages he not only ruins his style, but damages the perspective of the whole book. In even five years the treatment of some will seem too cursory, the mere mention of others superfluous in a critical history; and a permanent reference book will seem out of date by the inclusion of four amiable pages.

All art books should be lavishly illustrated. If economy forced limitation in the number of illustrations to thirteen, Mr. McInnes's choice of artists is excellent and almost summarizes his text; but it is a pity that such stingy horizontal cuts were made. No printing canons would seem responsible, since the coloured frontispiece is turned sideways. The fine reproduction of the painting by Emily Carr shows how much better the others would have looked had they occupied more than one-quarter of the page-area; and the plates of the Jackson and Milne pictures are completely inadequate, merely as plates. *A Short History of Canadian Art* will be, and should be, read in many parts of the country where the names mentioned in the text are unfamiliar. Another edition, more suitably presented, is to be hoped for.

DOUGLAS DUNCAN

Toronto.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

- BRADY, A. *The Empire and world order* (University of Toronto quarterly, X (1), Oct., 1940, 105-9). Reviews some recent books dealing with the British Empire, its present and future policies.
- The British Commonwealth.* Discussion between COLLIN BROOKS and H. V. HODSON (Listener, XXIV (615), Oct. 24, 1940, 580-1).
- The British Commonwealth at war* (Round table, no. 120, Sept., 1940, 815-38). The ponderables of material resources and the imponderables of moral strength and will to resistance are examined in the British Commonwealth war effort.
- CLOKIE, H. MCD. *The British Dominions and neutrality* (American political science review, XXXIV (4), Aug., 1940, 737-49). The theory of the legal unity of the Empire-Commonwealth has been more or less definitely discarded, and the maintenance of neutrality does not mean secession from the Commonwealth.
- FRASER, C. F. *Control of aliens in the British Commonwealth of Nations.* London: Hogarth [Toronto: Longmans Green]. 1940. Pp. 304. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- GREEN, JAMES FREDERICK. *The British Empire under fire.* New York: Foreign Policy Association. (Headline book no. 24.) 1940. Pp. 96. (25c.)
- HANCOCK, W. K. *Survey of British Commonwealth affairs.* Vol. II. *Problems of economic policy, 1918-1939.* Part I. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 324. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- HARPER, HUGO EDWARD (ed.). *Empire problems.* Articles by Major-Gen. IAN HAY BEITH, Viscount LYMINGTON and others. London: Frederick Muller. 1939. Pp. 216. (7s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.
- KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *The British Commonwealth.* (British life and thought, no. 1.) London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1940. Pp. 56. (35c.)
- KRAFT, THEODORE. *The future of the British Commonwealth of Nations.* With an introduction by Sir WILLMOTT LEWIS. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1940. Pp. 30. (\$1.00) A review of the probable effects of the second world war upon the constitutional and working relations of Britain and the Dominions.
- MAUGHAN, D. *Statute of Westminster* (Australian law journal, XIII, Aug. 15, 1939, 152-65).
- TRITONJ, R. *Canada: Prima incrinatura nell'Impero Britannico* (Nuova Antologia, June 1, 1940, 221-8).

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- BREBNER, J. BARTLET. *Ogdensburg: A turn in Canadian-American relations* (Inter-American quarterly, II (4), Oct., 1940, 18-28). The Ogdensburg agreement makes provision for the inevitable trend of Canada's relations with the United States and Latin America.

Canadian Institute of International Affairs. *Report on the work of, 1939-1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1940. Pp. 50.

DUGGAN, STEPHEN. *The western hemisphere as a haven of peace* (Foreign affairs, XVIII (4), July, 1940, 614-31). Devotes a section to a consideration of Canada's relation to the Monroe Doctrine, the Good Neighbour policy, and Pan-Americanism.

HUMPHREY, JOHN P. *Canada and the Mexican revolution* (Canadian forum, XX (239), Dec., 1940, 269-73). Understanding of Mexican politics and problems by Canada is important, since Canada may have entered the Pan-American system "by the backdoor" at Ogdensburg.

JEFFERYS, C. W. *Joint defence is not new* (Saturday night, Sept. 21, 1940, 11, 13). In 1650 the question of the joint defence of Canada and New England, was under discussion in Boston.

MACCORMAC, JOHN. *As Canada sees us* (New York Times magazine, Dec. 1, 1940, 10-11, 21). The author believes that the events of the past six months have done more to modify Canadian opinion of the United States than those of any previous half-century.

MCINNIS, EDGAR. *Canada's American problem* (University of Toronto quarterly, X (1), Oct., 1940, 101-5). A review of John MacCormac's *Canada: America's Problem*, and a discussion of Canada's foreign relations.

MACKAY, R. A. *Canada goes abroad* (Yale review, XXX (1), autumn, 1940, 109-26). Closer co-operation with the United States is almost inevitable, but Canada is not yet wholly North American in sentiment or in concept of national interest.

MOSELY, P. E. *Iceland and Greenland: An American problem* (Foreign affairs, XIX (4), July, 1940, 742-6).

UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *North American front* (Canadian forum, XX (236), Sept., 1940, 168-9). Predicts that in the new regional balance of power which is being formed in the world, Canada's security will be found in the geographical region in which she belongs.

WILKINSON, B. *Canada's place in an English-speaking union* (Saturday night, Nov. 30, 1940, 4). Such a union would reconcile all Canada's interests and loyalties at once and afford her wide scope for increasing her international status.

### III. CANADA AND THE WAR

AITCHISON, J. H. *Canada at war: Report of two round tables of annual conference of Canadian Institute of International Affairs, London, Ontario, May, 1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1940. Pp. 19. This report summarizes the discussions held and the conclusions reached.

ARMSTRONG, ELIZABETH H. *Canada—an American nation at war* (Inter-American quarterly, II (3), July, 1940, 81-7). The writer emphasizes that Canada made a separate and distinct declaration of war, thereby beginning her career as a North American nation.

BIGGAR, OLIVER M. *To defend North America* (Labour review, IV (10), Oct., 1940, 232-4). An address broadcast from Ottawa on October 20, 1940.

*Canada and the war: Mackenzie King to the people of Canada 1940*. Ottawa: National Liberal Federation of Canada. 1940. Pp. 104. (25c.) A series of radio broadcasts by the Prime Minister from Ottawa, February and March, 1940.

*Canada at war* (Fortune, XXII (5), Nov., 1940, 50-7, 130, 132, 134, 136, 139). A presentation for Americans of Canada's war effort.

- Canada, Department of Munitions and Supply. *Record of contracts awarded for the month of June, 1940, with amendments to previous records from July 14, 1939 to May 31, 1940.* Ottawa: King's printer. 1940. Pp. 442.
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- Record of contracts awarded for July, 1940 with amendments to previous records from July 14, 1939 to June 30, 1940.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 673. (50c.)
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- Record of contracts awarded for the month of August, 1940, with amendments to previous records from July 14, 1939 to July 31, 1940.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 772. (50c.)
- Canada, Department of National Defence. *Report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1940.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 114. (25c.)
- Canada. I. *A new war effort.* II. *The Rowell-Sirois report* (Round table, no. 120, Sept., 1940, 893-914). Increased war activity since the fall of France, and general approval of the Royal Commission's report mark Canada's national life in recent months.
- Canada, Privy Council of. *Proclamations and orders in council passed with authority of War Measures Act (1927).* Vols. I and II. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 237, 145. (50c., 25c.)
- Canada's industrial front* (with sections on shells, transport, airplanes, ships) (Financial post, special supplement, Sept. 21, 1940).
- Canada's war effort and economic conditions at end of June, 1940* (Canada year book, 1940, introduction, xxiv-xliii). Covers military preparations, economic organization, finance, and reviews economic conditions during the first year of war.
- CHURCHILL, RICHARD. *Total war re-acts on Ottawa* (Country guide, LIX (7), July, 1940, 12, 46). Contrasts the present drive and energy with the apparent inaction in the early months of the war.
- CORRY, J. A. *Public affairs: Some aspects of Canada's war effort* (Queen's quarterly, XLVII (3), autumn, 1940, 356-68). A small inner War Cabinet free from departmental duties is needed to answer the greatly increased demands for government planning and control in this war.
- DEAN, EDGAR PACKARD. *Canada's new defense program* (Foreign affairs, XIX (1), Oct., 1940, 222-36). Canada's new defence programme, begun last June, makes home defence as important as aid to Britain, and the Ogdensburg agreement is a landmark in the increasing North American orientation of Canadian affairs.
- DEXTER, GRANT. *Wanted: A war cabinet* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (21), Nov. 1, 1940, 11, 38-9, 41). Makes a plea for an inner war cabinet, freed from departmental responsibilities.
- EDWARDS, FREDERICK. *Norway in Canada* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (23), Dec. 1, 1940, 15, 32-6). "Little Norway" on Toronto's waterfront is training airmen for a return engagement with Hitler.
- FARROW, JOHN. *The Royal Canadian Navy: History and development* (Canadian geographical journal, XXI (5), Nov., 1940, 214-55). Devotes much space to the recent very rapid expansion of the Canadian Navy.
- FOSTER, W. W. *A modern war auxiliary* (Canadian geographical journal, XXI (3), Sept., 1940, 118-33). The Director of Auxiliary Services, Department of National Defence, outlines the work being done in conjunction with military training, in the fields of education, recreation, family welfare, etc.
- GODSELL, PHILIP H. *The red man takes the war trail* (Country guide, LIX (9), Sept., 1940, 10, 22, 39-40). Among the Canadian armed forces are many Indian braves.

- GREEN, JAMES FREDERICK. *Canada at war* (Foreign Policy Association report, XVI (12), Sept. 1, 1940, 150-6). Outlines all important phases of the Canadian scene during the past year.
- HERBERT, C. H. *Why war savings?* (Contemporary affairs bulletin no. 7.) Toronto, Halifax: Ryerson. 1940. Pp. 14. 10c.
- LAMBERT, R. S. *Canada's war effort: The first year's record.* (Food for thought, no. 7, Sept., 1940.) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education. 1940. Pp. 15. (10c.) Reviews Canada's effort and contributions.
- MCINNIS, EDGAR. *The war: First year.* With an introduction by RAYMOND GRAM SWING. 1940. London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xvi, 312. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.
- O'LEARY, GRATTAN. *Canada: Arsenal and camp* (Listener, XXIV (616), Oct. 31, 1940, 615-16). A broadcast to English listeners on Canada's war effort.
- Chief of staff (Maclean's magazine, LIII (18), Sept. 15, 1940, 9, 34). An estimate of Major-General H. D. G. Crerar, D.S.O., Canada's new Chief of Staff.
- RESARTUS, MILES. *Canada's democratic army* (Canadian forum, XX (238), Nov., 1940, 242-3). Intelligent voluntary co-operation, not blind obedience, should be the spirit stressed in Canada's new training scheme.
- SPAIGHT, J. M. *Dominion airmen in the Battle of Britain* (Empire review, LXXII (478), Nov., 1940, 288-91).
- Special war chronology, to July 8, 1940* (Canada year book, 1940, 36-40, appendix I, 1143-8). An outline of events from the outbreak of war to the battle of Oran.
- WRENCH, Sir EVELYN. *University of the air* (Listener, XXIV (612), Oct. 3, 1940, 469-70). Describes the British Commonwealth air training plan.

#### IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

##### (1) General History

- BROWN, G. W. (ed.), and WOODLEY, E. C., DENTON, V. L., TALMAN, J. J. (contributing eds.). *Readings in Canadian history.* Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada). 1940. Pp. xiv, 378. (\$2.25) See p. 418.
- BRUCHESI, JEAN. *Histoire du Canada pour tous.* Tome II: *Le régime anglais.* Montreal: Editions de l'Action canadienne-français. 1940. Pp. 364. See p. 425.
- Les Cahiers des Dix.* No. 5. Drummondville, P.Q. La Parole. 1940. Pp. 305. To be reviewed later.
- HOWAY, F. W. *Some national historic sites in Western Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XXI (4), Oct., 1940, 206-11). Outlines the history which gives significance to these sites.
- MACDERMOT, H. E. *History of the School for Nurses of the Montreal General Hospital.* Montreal: Alumnae Association, The Hospital. 1940. Pp. [viii], 125.
- SAGE, WALTER N. *Canada from sea to sea.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1940. Pp. 32. Two articles reprinted from the Canadian Historical Association *Annual reports*, 1928 and 1937, "Geographical and cultural aspects of the five Canadas" and "Some aspects of the frontier in Canadian history."
- TORY, H. M. *A study of the organization and work of the Royal Society of Canada* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, appendix A, 65-77). The presidential address.

## (2) New France

- DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *A calendar of La Salle's travels, 1643-1683* (Mid-America, XXII (4), Oct., 1940, 278-305). A useful calendar showing La Salle's movements, and indicating most of the known and accessible source-materials pertaining to La Salle.
- DESROSIER, LÉO-PAUL. *Les Iroquois et la coalition laurentienne* (Le Canada français, XXVII (10), juin, 1940, 941-51). The author examines the causes of the defeat of the Algonquins and Hurons by the Iroquois.
- EATON, EVELYN. *Quietly my captain waits*. New York, London: Harper and Brothers [Toronto: Musson Book Co.], 1940. Pp. x, 365. (\$2.75) Miss Eaton has made use of records in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia to provide the background for a novel about Acadia and Nova Scotia in the early eighteenth century. Care has been taken to make the historical setting accurate, but this setting is heavily over-shadowed by the romantic and emotional adventures of the characters. There is much of the grim and lurid detail which passes for realism in many of the modern historical novels. [R.G.R.]
- FAUTEUX, ÉGIDIUS. *Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis en Canada*. Montréal: Editions des Dix. 1940. Pp. 252. See p. 419.
- MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Deux tournants de l'histoire d'Acadie: 1713 et 1755* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 107-20). This article is a result of conversations between the author and senator Pascal Poirier who had made an intensive study of the history of Acadia.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *La Compagnie royale de 1695* (B.R.H., XLVI (8), août, 1940, 238-40). Includes a document pertaining to this little-known company of six associates founded for the purpose of fur trading.
- MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. *Quand Saint-Sulpice allait en guerre . . .* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 11-30). The military activity of Saint-Sulpice may be divided into three periods: the first coincides with the arrival of the Carignan regiment in Canada; the second is the period of military operations in Acadia; and the third takes in the Seven Years' War.
- PRATT, E. J. *Brébeuf and his brethren*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1940. Pp. 65. (\$1.25) To be reviewed later.
- ROBITAILLE, GEORGES. *Les préliminaires de la guerre de sept ans* (deuxième partie) (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, sec. 1, série 3, XXXIV, mai, 1940, 91-9). Diplomatic relations between the European countries involved before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War.
- (3) British North America before 1867
- AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Charles-Clément de Sabrevois de Bleury* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 57-78). This account of the political career of M. de Bleury (1798-1862) stresses his relations with Louis-Joseph Papineau.
- BRIGGS, HAROLD E. *Frontiers of the northwest: A history of the upper Missouri Valley*. New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Co. Toronto: Ryerson. 1940. Pp. xiv, 629. (\$5.75)
- BURT, A. L. *The United States, Great Britain, and British North America from the Revolution to the establishment of peace after the War of 1812*. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, director.) New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 448. (\$4.25) To be reviewed later.
- Chief Factor James Anderson's back river journal of 1855* (Canadian field naturalist, LIV (5, 6), May, Sept., Oct., 1940, 63-7, 84-9, 107-9). This field note-book was kept by Anderson on his expedition in 1855 in search of traces of Sir John Franklin.



- CLARKE, THOMAS WOOD. *The bloody Mohawk*. New York [Toronto]: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xx, 372. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- CROSBY, RALPH MITCHELL. *We have met the enemy*. New York, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1940. Pp. x, 366. (\$2.00) An historical novel dealing with the War of 1812.
- DEMOND, ROBERT O. *The Loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 286. (\$3.00)
- DOWNES, RANDOLPH C. *Council fires on the Upper Ohio: A narrative of Indian affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 369. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *Le S . . . de C . . . enfin démasqué* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 231-92). Discusses *Mémoires du S . . . de C . . . contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre et sous le gouvernement anglais* which was written anonymously and appeared at about the same time as Lord Durham's Report.
- FULLER, IOLA. *The loon feather*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1940. Pp. 419. (\$2.50) A novel dealing with Tecumseh and the War of 1812.
- GOODRICH, CALVIN. *The first Michigan frontier*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1940. Pp. x, 344. (\$2.50)
- JENSEN, MERRILL. *The Articles of Confederation: An interpretation of the social-constitutional history of the American Revolution, 1774-1781*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 284. (\$3.00) There has been too great a tendency on the part of historians to view the Articles of Confederation merely as an unsatisfactory prelude to the Constitution. The result has been an undue emphasis of their weaknesses. This volume attempts "to describe the Articles of Confederation in terms of the concrete issues that Americans faced in 1776." The Articles emerged from the necessity of some kind of national organization which had been imposed by the Revolution, but at the same time they represented not the views of the conservative elements, but the constitutional views of the radical elements which had triumphed in 1776 and which favoured decentralization in government. [G.W.B.]
- KOCH, ELSERS. *Lewis and Clark route retraced across the Bitterroots* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLI (2), June, 1940, 160-74). Traces the journey of these famous explorers across the Bitterroot Mountains from Montana to Idaho in 1805.
- LA BRUÈRE, MONTARVILLE BOUCHER DE. *Louis-Joseph Papineau de Saint-Denis à Paris* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 79-106). Traces the life of Papineau from the outbreak of the insurrection in 1837 to his exile in Paris in 1840.
- MACDONALD, JEAN HEMBROFF. *On the trail of Sir George* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2), Sept., 1940, 40-3). A modern adventurer follows the route taken by Sir George Simpson in his historic journey across Rupert's Land in 1841.
- The Maumee Valley through fifty years, 1763-1813*. Bulletin no. xxxiii of the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 1940. Pp. [24]. Outlines the history of the region from 1763 to 1813, and indicates some of the original sources on this period and subject to be found in the William L. Clements Library.
- METZGER, CHARLES H. *Propaganda in the American Revolution* (Mid-America, XXII (4), Oct., 1940, 243-61). This study of propagandist activity in the years 1774-6 shows that the colonial patriots were not ignorant of the value of propaganda nor unskilled in its use.
- PRUD'HOMME, L.-A. *Les Meurons* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, sec. 1, série 3, XXXIV, mai, 1940, 87-90). Describes the part played by the regiment of the Meurons in the War of 1812 and in Lord Selkirk's Red River Settlement.

- RAMSAY, A. A. W. *Letters from Letitia Hargrave* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2), Sept., 1940, 37-9). The second and last instalment of Mrs. James Hargrave's letters from York Factory in 1840-3.
- REID, R. L. *The Indian Stream territory: An episode of the north-east boundary dispute* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIV, series 3, May, 1940, 143-71). Until this region was given to the United States to facilitate settlement of the larger Maine boundary dispute, it was successively part of Lower Canada, an independent "republic," and part of New Hampshire.
- ROBERTS, KENNETH. *Oliver Wiswell*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1940. Pp. 836. (\$3.25) An historical novel dealing with the American Revolution.
- ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *L'évasion de Dodge et Theller de la citadelle de Québec* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 121-44). Describes the escape of William W. Dodge and Edward A. Theller, Americans who took part in the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837, from the Quebec citadel.
- SAVELLE, MAX. *The diplomatic history of the Canadian boundary, 1749-1763*. (Relations of Canada and the United States, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, Director.) New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 172. (\$3.25) To be reviewed later.
- SINCLAIR, HAROLD. *Westward the tide*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co. [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1940. Pp. 359. (\$3.00) A novel of the American Revolution.
- SPECTOR, MARGARET MARION. *The American department of the British government, 1768-1782*. New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King and Son. 1940. Pp. 181. (\$2.25) To be reviewed later.
- SURVEYER, E. FABRE. *Joseph Bouchette* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, sec. 1, série 3, XXXIV, mai, 1940, 101-18). As Surveyor-General of Lower Canada, Joseph Bouchette (1774-1841) played an important part in settling boundary differences between Canada and the United States.
- WALLACE, W. S. *Forsyth, Richardson and Company in the fur trade* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIV, series 3, May, 1940, 187-94). Some light is thrown upon the history of the firm and its relations with the North West Company at various periods.
- WERTENBAKER, THOMAS JEFFERSON. *Torchbearer of the Revolution: The story of Bacon's Rebellion and its leader*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 237. (\$2.50) Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in 1676 was an attack on the Governor and ruling clique whose policy had contributed to the distress and depression of the frontier districts. The pattern is in some ways not unlike that in Upper Canada in 1837. The Rebellion, while recognized as important, has been a rather obscure incident. Professor Wertenbaker's account is interesting and clear and based on a careful examination of the sources.

#### (4) The Dominion of Canada

- ARCHIBALD, E. S. *Frank Thomas Shutt (1850-1940)* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, 121-3). Throughout his life Dr. Shutt made large and important contributions to agriculture through chemistry.
- Canada year book, 1940*. Ed. by A. E. MILLWARD. Pub. by Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Canada Department of Trade and Commerce. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. xlv, 1192. (\$1.50)
- Canadian almanac and legal and court directory for 1940*. Edited by HORACE C. CORNER. Toronto: Copp Clark Co. 1940. Pp. 706. (\$6.00)

*Canadian annual review of public affairs, 1937 and 1938.* Toronto: Canadian Review Co. 1940. Pp. xx, 700.

Canadian Association for Adult Education and Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Behind the headline series. I. *Bushels to burn* by J. W. HOLMES. II. *Uncle Sam on the brink* by J. F. GREEN. Toronto: The Association, The Institute. 1940. Pp. 12, 24. (10c. each)

Democracy and citizenship series. I. *How did we get that way?* by H. G. SKILLING. II. *How the wheels go round* by J. W. HOLMES. III. *You take out what you put in* by B. K. SANDWELL. IV. *Can we make good?* by T. W. L. MACDERMOT. Toronto: The Association, The Institute. 1940. Pp. 16, 16, 20, 22. (10c. each)

Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Legal Department. *Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations with special reference to taxation* (Industrial Canada, XLI (7), Nov., 1940, 48-51). A memorandum prepared for presentation to the executive council of the Association.

CARON, MAXIMILIEN. Y a-t-il un provincialisme légitime? (Actualité économique, XV (5), mars, 1940, 401-15). The case for provincial autonomy.

COCHRANE, C. N. *Lord Tweedsmuir* (University of Toronto quarterly, X (1), Oct., 1940, 110-13). A study of Canada's ex-Governor-General as revealed in his autobiography, *Memory-hold-the-door*, and addresses made while in Canada.

CORRY, J. A. *Difficulties of divided jurisdiction.* (Appendix 7 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 44. (50c.)

*Growth of government activities since Confederation.* (Study prepared for Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. iii, 174 (mimeo.). (50c.)

*The report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.* Part II (Canadian banker, XLVIII (1), Oct., 1940, 22-33). The second of a series of three articles by Professor Corry dealing with the report—the first appeared in the July, 1940, issue.

CREIGHTON, D. G. *British North America at Confederation.* (Appendix 2 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 104. (50c.)

DAFOE, J. W. *The Canadian federal system under review* (Foreign affairs, XVIII (4), July, 1940, 646-58). An analysis of the recommendations of the Rowell-Sirois Commission.

DEAN, EDGAR PACKARD. *Toward a more perfect Canadian union* (Pacific affairs, XIII (4), Dec., 1940, 435-45). Terms the Rowell-Sirois report a milestone in Canadian history, comparable in importance only to Lord Durham's *Report*.

*Dominion legislation, 1939* (Canada year book, 1940, chap. xxx, 1117-1133).

FAITHFULL, LILIAN M. *The evening crowns the day.* London: Chatto and Windus [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1940. Pp. xii, 240. (\$2.75) The author is the former principal of Cheltenham Ladies College; two chapters describe a lecture tour through Canada and Miss Faithfull's impressions of the country.

*5000 facts about Canada.* 1940 ed. Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co. 1930. Pp. iv, 92. (35c.) General information about government, economics, and other statistics.

GOVIN, L. M. and CLAXTON, BROOKE. *Legislative expedients and devices adopted by the Dominion and the provinces.* (Appendix 8 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 72. (50c.)

- INNIS, H. A. *The Rowell-Sirois report* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (4), Nov., 1940, 562-71). A critical review, which urges ample consideration and discussion by all points of view before action is taken.
- LANDON, FRED. *Ernest Alexander Cruikshank (1853-1939)* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, 109-10). Biographical sketch of this well-known research worker in Ontario local history.
- LIVESAY, J. F. B. *The Canadian Press—Its birth and development*. Toronto: The author, 44 Victoria Street. Reprinted from the *Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph* of June 21, 1939. Pp. 19. An account of the building up of the Canadian Press news service.
- LORING, MRS. ERNEST M. *Frank C. Loring* (Canadian mining journal, LXI, June, 1940, 359-63). In memory of one of the charter members of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy.
- MARTIN, CHESTER. *Trends in Canadian nationhood*. (Oxford pamphlets on world affairs, no. C8). Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. 36. (10c.)
- MORIN, VICTOR. *L'Honorable Fernand Rinfret (1883-1939)* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, 117-19). Biographical sketch of the former Secretary of State in the King Cabinet.
- NADEAU, GABRIEL. *A T.B.'s progress: The story of Norman Bethune* (Bulletin of history of medicine, VIII (8), Oct., 1940, 1135-71). This Canadian doctor upon his recovery from tuberculosis, did valuable research in that field, later organized the blood transfusion service of the Loyalists in Spain, and died in China while doing surgical work.
- NIELSEN, DORISE W. *Democracy must live!* Toronto: Canadian Tribune. 1940. Pp. 47. (10c.) The collected addresses of the recently elected woman member of Parliament for North Battleford, Saskatchewan.
- QUINN, HERBERT F. *Canadian unity and the need for nationalism* (Queen's quarterly, XLVII (3), autumn, 1940, 318-29). Stresses the need for a real spirit of Canadianism based on national unity.
- Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Canada year book, 1940, appendix V, 1157-63).
- ROTHNEY, GORDON O. *Parties and profits* (Canadian forum, XX (237), Oct., 1940, 204-6). Outlines the stand taken by the political parties on the C.C.F. amendment to the budget resolution.
- Royal Society of Canada. *List of members and minutes of proceedings, 1940*. (From Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXXIV, 1940.) Ottawa: The Royal Society. 1940. Pp. [iv], 174.
- SAUNDERS, S. A. and BACK, E. *The Rowell-Sirois Commission*. Part I. *Summary of report*. (Contemporary affairs bulletin no. 5.) Toronto, Halifax: Ryerson. 1940. Pp. vi, 45. (40c.)
- The Sirois report—a discussion of some aspects. The Sirois Commission as historians* by FRANK H. UNDERHILL; *Conservation* by ROBERT F. LEGGET; *A British Columbia view* by DOROTHY G. STEEVES (Canadian forum, XX (238), Nov., 1940, 233-9). The article considers the present-day interpretation of Canadian history, the lack of attention paid to the conservation of our natural resources, and the development of social welfare on a national scale, as these questions are presented in the report.
- The Sirois report: Further discussion; What the Sirois report proposes; Education* (Canadian forum, XX (239), Dec., 1940, 261-6).

- TWEEDSMUIR, Lord. *Canadian occasions*. Toronto: Musson Book Co. 1940. Pp. 256. (\$1.50) Lord Tweedsmuir was so sympathetic, so well-informed, so constructive an observer of things Canadian that his addresses about, and in, Canada have the quality and significance of historical sources for the period in which he served as the Dominion's Governor-General. He had in an uncommon degree the gift of concise, forceful, thought-provoking utterance. No less than forty addresses on a wide variety of subjects are included in this small volume. Given to suit particular occasions, they have nevertheless a quality of enduring interest. Lord Tweedsmuir understood not only the limitations which his official position imposed upon him, but also the opportunities which it provided for him. No better illustration of this important fact could be provided than the addresses which are here presented. (G. W. B.)
- WEBSTER, J. C. *John Stewart McLennan (1853-1939)* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, 115-16). Able research into the history of Louisbourg was contributed by this former Canadian senator.
- WILLIS, J. *Administrative law and the British North America Act* (Harvard law review, LIII, Dec., 1939, 251-81).

#### (5) The Great War

- DEUTSCH, J. J. *War finance and the Canadian economy, 1914-20* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (4), Nov., 1940, 525-42). Concludes that substantial as was Canada's contribution in the last war, the burdens laid on the economy were relatively light compared with demands in this war.
- FALLS, CYRIL (comp.). *History of the Great War based on official documents: Military operations, France and Belgium, 1917*. New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xxxix, 586. (\$7.85) This volume covers the first five months of 1917, including the German retreat to the Hindenburg line and the Battles of Arras.

### V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

- ARNOLD, MARY ELLICOTT. *The story of Tompkinsville*. New York: The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12th Street. 1940. Pp. [vi], 102. The miners of Tompkinsville, Cape Breton Island, built their own homes under a co-operative housing scheme, with the aid and advice of the Adult Education Movement.
- GORHAM, R. P. *Maple sugar industry in New Brunswick* (Dalhousie review, XX (2), July, 1940, 218-26).
- MCLENNAN, C. PRESCOTT. *Personalities of the past in Nova Scotia* (Dalhousie review, XX (3), Oct., 1940, 301-15). The author points with pride to the men Nova Scotia has contributed to public life.
- MARTELL, J. S. *From Central Board to Secretary of Agriculture, 1826-1885*. (Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, II (3).) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1940. Pp. 30.
- SAUNDERS, S. A. *Economic history of the Maritime Provinces*. (Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. [vi], 148 (mimeo.). (50c.)

#### (2) The Province of Quebec

- ARMSTRONG, ELIZABETH H. *French Canada's double ties* (Christian Science monitor, Oct. 12, 1940, 2, 14). French-Canadian attitudes toward the collapse of France, in the light of historic and current factors in the Province of Quebec.
- AUCLAIR, ELIE-J. *Les origines de Sainte-Thérèse de Blainville et de son séminaire*, (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, sec. 1, série 3, XXXIV, mai, 1940, 1-19). The parish of Sainte-Thérèse situated in the county of Terrebonne, Quebec, dates from 1789; the séminaire was founded in 1825.

- BARBEAU, VICTOR. *Le coopératisme: Une solution au problème économique et social de notre province* (Actualité économique, XVI (1), avril, 1-20). Co-operation as it might be applied to social and economic abuses in the Province of Quebec.
- CARON, IVANHOË. *Aux origines d'une paroisse: Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours-de-l'Islet (1077-1723)* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, sec. 1, série 3, XXXIV, mai, 1940, 21-47).
- LEOPOLD, FRÈRE. *Jean Olscamp, Fleur de Gaspésie*. Memramcook, N.B.: Université St-Joseph. 1940. 2nd. ed. Pp. 112. (15c.) A small booklet, written in memory of a beloved student at the university.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *A la recherche d'une position sociale* (B.R.H., XLVI (10), oct., 1940, 292-5). Vicissitudes in the career of Louis Huguët-Latour (1773-1837), son of Pierre Huguët-Latour, who became a notary in Quebec in 1804.
- *Montréal se transforme* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 177-215). Delves into the past of Montreal to find some historic monuments which have since disappeared.
- MINVILLE, ESDRAS. *Labour legislation and social services in the Province of Quebec*. (Appendix 5 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report.) Ottawa: King's Printer. Pp. 97. (50c.)
- RUMILLY, ROBERT. *Histoire de la Province de Québec. I. Georges-Etienne Cartier*. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1940. Pp. 365. (\$1.00) See p. 426.
- Statistical year book of the Province of Quebec 1939*. Issued by the Quebec Department of Municipal Affairs, Trade and Commerce. Quebec: Rédempti Paradis. 1940. Pp. xxxiv, 466. The *Statistical year book for 1939* is the twenty-sixth in the series published annually by the Bureau of Statistics of the Province of Quebec. While the larger part of the text and tables is contemporary, there is also historical material in a number of sections, for example in figures of population and trade, and in the part on government. Readers are also referred to earlier issues for further historical matter. The volume is in both French and English.
- TESSIER, ALBERT. *Encore le Saint-Maurice* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 145-76). Describes an expedition made into the Saint-Maurice region in 1829, with Joseph Bouchette as surveyor, for the purpose of obtaining an exact report as to the general character of the country, its natural resources, etc.
- TESSIER, HECTOR. *Le Canada français a-t-il des droits réels à l'indépendance politique?* (Les Carnets viatoriens, V (2), avril, 1940, 99-101). The author concludes that the main purpose of French-Canadian nationalism is to perpetuate French culture on North American soil.
- *Le nationalisme canadien-français et la morale internationale* (Les Carnets viatoriens, V (3), juillet, 1940, 130-5). Specific characteristics of French-Canadian nationalism, including the idea of separatism are considered.
- (3) The Province of Ontario**
- Agricultural settlement by refugees in Ontario* (Ontario Research Foundation bulletin, VII (8), Aug., 1940, 1-5, 8). Settlement of refugees already effected offers a useful field for studying the contribution various types of settlers can make to Canada.
- EDWARDS, FREDERICK. *The royal city* [Guelph, Ontario] (Maclean's magazine, LIII (20), Oct. 15, 1940, 26, 28, 30, 58-61). A thriving city, Guelph has given many distinguished men to the country.
- *Garden city* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (17), Sept. 1, 1940, 18-20, 25-6). A close-up of St. Catharines, Ontario.
- FOX, W. SHERWOOD. *T'ain't runnin' no more* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIV, series 3, May, 1940, 55-70). The author ruminates in historic contemplation upon the region which extends along Lake Huron from Grand Bend to Kettle Point.



- MONTAGNES, JAMES. *Pop. 8,527* (Canadian business, XIII (10), Oct., 1940, 22-7, 76). A study of the town of Barrie, Ontario.

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

- ARCHIBALD, E. S. *Prairie farm rehabilitation* (Canadian geographical journal, XXI (4), Oct., 1940, 158-71). An analysis of the work of applied science in solving the agricultural problems of the Dry Belt.
- BERNIER, NOËL. *Fannystelle: Une Fleur de France éclore en terre manitobaine*. (Publié sous les auspices de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface, Manitoba.) Québec: Imprimerie franciscaine missionnaire. 1939. Pp. 189.
- MCLEOD, MARGARET ARNETT. *The Company in Winnipeg* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2) Sept., 1940, 6-11). The story of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg.
- WAINES, W. J. *Prairie population possibilities*. (Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. iv, 77 (mimeo.). (50c.)

#### (5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Old Port Simpson* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2), Sept., 1940, 20-3). Fort Simpson (just north of the present Prince Rupert), was for many years the most important post on the sea between Fort Vancouver on the Columbia and Sitka in Alaska, where the Russian-American Company had its seat.
- CARR, MARY JANE. *Young Mac of Fort Vancouver*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1940. Pp. x, 238. (\$2.25) A novel of the North-west Coast.
- GEHRI, ALFRED L. *Fort Nisqually restored* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2), Sept., 1940, 34-5). The old Hudson's Bay Company's trading post founded on Puget Sound in 1833 has been restored and rededicated as a pioneer museum.
- HOWAY, F. W. (ed.). *The Journal of Captain James Colnett aboard the Argonaut from April 26, 1789 to Nov. 3, 1791*. Edited with introduction and notes. (Publications of the Champlain Society, XXVI.) Toronto: The Society. 1940. Pp. xxii, 328, xii. To be reviewed later.
- JERZYK, ANNA. *Winship settlement in 1810 was Oregon's Jamestown* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLI (2), June, 1940, 175-81). The Winship brothers and company of Boston built their trading-post on the Columbia River a year before Astoria was founded, but it lasted only eight days.
- OKUN', S. B. *Rossiisko-Amerikanskaya Kompaniya* [The Russian-American Company]. Moscow and Leningrad: Sotsekiz [New York: Four Continents' Book Corporation]. 1939. Pp. 260. (\$1.00) See p. 422.
- SAGE, WALTER N. *John Foster McCreight: The first Premier of British Columbia* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIV, series 3, May, 1940, 173-85). McCreight's real contribution to the new province was as a law giver rather than as a political leader.
- SCHEFFER, VICTOR B. *Sea otter on the Washington coast* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXI (4), Oct., 1940, 371-88). Contains a section outlining the early history of the trade in sea otter.

#### (6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

- BURFEE, LAWRENCE J. *A road to Alaska* (Canadian geographical journal, XXI (5), Nov., 1940, 256-67). Considers the possible routes this road might follow, and the history of the country through which it would run.

- CAMSELL, CHARLES. *My home town* (Canadian geographical journal, XXI (3), Sept., 1940, 108-17). Illustrations by S. C. ELLS. This was one of a series of broadcasts of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1939, in which the author recalls his early years spent at Fort Liard and Fort Simpson.
- CARTER, H. DYSON. *Sea of destiny: The story of Hudson Bay—our undefended back door*. New York: Greenberg. 1940. Pp. xii, 236. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- CASE, ROBERT ORMOND. *Golden portage*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co. [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1940. Pp. 276. (\$2.35) A novel.
- FIELDHOUSE, FELICE. *Yukon holiday*. New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1940. Pp. 230. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- FRANKLIN, WILLIAM M. *Alaska, outpost of American defense* (Foreign affairs, XIX (1), Oct., 1940, 245-50). The strategic significance of Alaska in the Pacific area makes American policy there of importance to Canada.
- McMILLION, OVID MILLER. *New Alaska*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers. 1939. Pp. xii, 216. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.
- WEGENER, ELSE (ed.). *Greenland journey*. London: Blackie. 1939. Pp. 295. (12s. 6d.) Illustrated account of Alfred Wegener's expedition (1930-1) into the virtually unknown central part of Greenland.
- WILDERSPIN, D. A. *High north low-down* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2), Sept., 1940, 16-19). Some popular fictions about life in the Arctic are exposed.

#### (7) Newfoundland

- BUTCHER, WILFRED F. *Inertia in Newfoundland* (Canadian forum, XX (238), Nov., 1940, 245-6). The hopelessness of those who fear improvements are impossible of attainment is the greatest tragedy.
- GREGORY, GOLDWIN. *Newfoundland is all North America's problem* (Saturday night, Nov. 30, 1940, 7). The integration of Newfoundland in the North American scheme of things is of primary importance, and her logical place in it is as Canada's tenth province.
- Newfoundland, Colonial Secretary. *Handbook, gazetteer, and almanac: Newfoundland, 1940*. St. John's: [1940]. Pp. 326.

### VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

#### (1) General

- BATES, STEWART. *Financial history of Canadian governments*. (Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. v, 309 (mimeo.). (50c.)
- COERR, JANET. *Co-operatives in Canada* (Canadian forum, XX (236, 237), Sept., Oct., 1940, 171-3, 206-9). A co-operative organization suited to the Canadian people and their needs is being developed in Antigonish, and its extension on a national scale should be hastened.
- EGGLESTON, W. and KRAFT, C. T. *Dominion-provincial subsidies and grants*. (Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. v, 200 (mimeo.) (50c.)
- GOLDENBERG, H. C. *Municipal finance in Canada*. (Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. [vii], 128 (mimeo.). (50c.)

- GRAUER, A. E. *Labour legislation* (pp. [ix], 292); *Public health* (pp. [v], 126); *Housing* (pp. iii, 78). (Three studies prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. (Mimeo.) (50c. each)
- *Public assistance and social insurance*. (Appendix 6 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 98. (50c.)
- HAINES, FRANCIS D. *The western limits of the buffalo range* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXI (4), Oct., 1940, 389-98). An attempt to determine these limits by the use of historical records.
- JAMES, F. CYRIL. *The economics of money, credit and banking*. Rev. and enlarged ed. New York: Ronald Press Co. 1940. Pp. xxii, 745. (\$4.00) Contains a chapter on the Canadian banking system.
- KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Let's face the facts* (Labour review, IV (9), Sept., 1940, 208-12). An address on labour broadcast September 1, 1940.
- KNOX, F. A. *Dominion monetary policy (1929-1934)*. (Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. (Mimeo.) (50c.)
- MACGREGOR, D. C., RUTHERFORD, J. B., BRITNELL, G. E., DEUTSCH, J. J. *National income*. (Appendix 4 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 97. (50c.)
- MACKINTOSH, W. A. *Economic background of Dominion-provincial relations*. (Appendix 3 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 102. (50c.)
- *Reciprocity* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (4), Nov., 1940, 611-20). Article reviewing several recent books on reciprocity and its history.
- MONTPETIT, ÉDOUARD. *La conquête économique*. II. *Étapes*. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1940. Pp. 268. (\$1.00)
- Queen's University, Kingston, School of Commerce and Administration, Industrial relations section. Bulletin no. 4. *Economic welfare of Canadian employees: Study of occupations, earnings, hours and other working conditions, 1913-37*. Kingston: The School. 1940. Pp. viii, 144.
- ROLLAND, GEORGE. *Share the work plan, as the ultimate solution to unemployment in Canada*. Toronto, New York: George Rolland Publications. 1940. Pp. 20. (25c.)
- SCOBELL, S. C. *Havana comes to Canada* (Canadian business, XIII (10), Oct., 1940, 18-20, 78). Reviews the significance of the Havana conference to Canada's economic interests.
- Summary of Dominion and provincial public finance statistics* (Appendix 1 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. (\$2.00) Appendices A-K give these statistics in detail (\$50.00 the set).
- USHER, A. P. *Influence of cod fishery upon history of North American seaboard* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (4), Nov., 1940, 591-9). Review article of *The Cod Fisheries: History of an International Economy* by H. A. Innis.

## (2) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

- GARCZYNSKI, LEON. *History of the Polish people in Canada* (Poles in Canada, 1940, 34-5, 44, 70, 74-5). The first large groups came to Canada in the 1850's, rising to mass immigration in the years 1903-14.

- GROCHOLSKI, J. S. W. and FLIS-GROCHOLSKI, GLADYS (eds.). *Poles in Canada, 1940: Canadians all*. Winnipeg: Acme Advertising Agency. 1940. Pp. 76. (50c.)
- GZOWSKI, C. S. *Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski (1813-1898)* (Poles in Canada, 1940, 16-17, 51-3). Exiled to America for his part in the Polish revolution of 1830-1, Sir Casimir became one of Canada's eminent men.
- HANSEN, MARCUS LEE. *The immigrant in American history*. Edited with foreword by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 230. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- HOWEY, FLORENCE R. *Pioneering on the C.P.R.* Ottawa: Mutual Press. 1938. Pp. 141. (\$1.25)
- MARRIOTT, SIR JOHN. *Child migration and Empire settlement* (Fortnightly, no. 885, new series, Sept., 1940, 276-83). Desires a scheme which will train future leaders for the Dominions.
- ROSENBERG, LOUIS. *Canada's Jews*. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress. 1939. Pp. xxix, 418. See p. 429.
- SOMMERVILLE, S. J. *Icelanders in Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XXI (4), Oct., 1940, 192-201). Since the first pioneers came to Canada in 1875, to settle on the shores of Lake Winnipeg, the Icelandic Canadians have made praiseworthy contributions to the national life.
- WENGER, JOHN C. *Glimpses of Mennonite history*. Scottdale, Penn.: Mennonite Publishing House. 1940. Pp. xii, 126. (75c.) This manual presents a brief, factual outline of the continental origins of the Mennonites and of their movement to America about the beginning of the eighteenth century. After a short account of the main bodies of American Mennonites (comprising five groups and numbering roughly 135,000 baptised members) the book discusses the effects of "The Great Awakening" in the Mennonite Church and the resulting adaptations that have been made in conformity to modern methods of thinking and life which evidently still constitute the major problem of the church. There are a number of generalizations which some scholars would question, such as: "the Reformation was purely religious in origin" (p. 4), and that Conrad Grebel "was the founder of the Mennonite Church" (p. 10), rather than of the Anabaptist movement from which the Mennonites were later derived. An appendix contains a valuable English bibliography of Mennonite history. Since the book "is intended for use in Mennonite schools" (p. ix), its purpose is not only to instruct but to edify. [ARTHUR G. DORLAND]
- WRIGHT, J. F. C. *Slava Bohu: The Story of the Dukhobors*. New York, Toronto: Farrar and Rinehart. 1940. Pp. x, 438. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.
- (3) **Geography**
- MARTIN, HELEN M. *Ne-saw-je-won*. Cleveland: M. D. Harbaugh, 1170 Hanna Bldg. 1939. Pp. 82. (60c.) Deals with the origin and development of the Great Lakes. The title means, according to the Ottawa Indians, "the waters that run down from Lake Superior to the sea."
- PALK, HELEN. *Pages from Canada's geography*. Toronto: Dent. 1939. Pp. 384. (\$1.50)
- PATTERSON, J. *A century of Canadian meteorology* (Quarterly journal of Royal Meteorological Society, LXVI, 1940, supplement, 16-33). Traces the history and development of Canadian meteorology since the Toronto Meteorological Observatory was established one hundred years ago.
- TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Structure and settlement in Canada* (Canadian banker, XLVIII (1), Oct., 1940, 42-65). A study of the structure and geography of Canada to determine the best plan of settlement and the probable optimum population of various regions.

## (4) Transportation and Communication

- BORNECQUE, E. *Une police de l'air du continent américain: Le détachement aérien de la Royal-Gendarmerie du Canada* (Revue générale de droit aérien, VIII, juillet-août-sept., 1939, 398-416).
- Down to the lakes in ships* (Fortune, XXII (1), July, 1940, 30-42, 100, 102). A heavier volume of maritime trade is carried on the Great Lakes than the entire foreign commerce of the United States.
- HERRIOT, MARION H. *Steamboating on the Red River* (Minnesota history, XXI (3), Sept., 1940, 245-71). The steamboat era 1859-78 was important not only for trade but for social intercourse between Minnesota and the Red River Settlement.
- LARSEN, ARTHUR J. *Roads and the settlement of Minnesota* (Minnesota history, XXI (3), Sept., 1940, 225-44). Touches upon communications by road and steamboat with the Red River Settlement.
- LAUREYS, H. *Le problème ferroviaire canadien* (Revue économique internationale, XXXI, oct., 1939, 77-115).

## VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

- CAMERON, THOMAS W. M. *The Institute of Parasitology* (McGill news, XXII (1), autumn, 1940, 9-12). Outlines the work of the Institute, established in 1932.
- DAVIS, ROY. *Primers of treachery* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (17), Sept. 1, 1940, 9, 30). Reveals some pre-war fifth-columnist activities of Nazi and Fascist schools in Canada.
- FALCONER, SIR ROBERT A. *Maurice Hutton (1856-1940)* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, 111-14). Biographical sketch of the well-known former Principal of University College, University of Toronto.
- *University federation in Toronto* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIV, series 3, May, 1940, 43-54). Some personal observations on the working of federation made during the author's twenty-five years as President.
- MCNEILL, W. E. *James Cappon (1854-1939)* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, 97-100). Biographical sketch of the former Professor of English, and Dean of Arts at Queen's University.
- MURPHY, GEORGE H. *My educational memories* (Dalhousie review, XX (3), Oct., 1940, 319-34). Memories of schooling and schoolmasters in pioneer days.
- ROBBINS, J. E. *Education and research* (Canada year book, 1940, chap. xxv, 965-1012). Contains a special article on scientific and industrial research in Canada.
- THOMAS, ISABEL. *Mobilizing the teachers* (Canadian forum, XX (236), Sept., 1940, 174-6). Urges the formation of an organized body of teachers from kindergarten to university, on a provincial basis but federated into a strong national body.

## VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

- AUCLAIR, ELIE-J. *L'abbé Azarie Couillard-Després (1876-1939)* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, 105-7). Biographical sketch of a member who did valuable research in the history of early Quebec and Acadia.
- *Le Père Paul-Victor Charland (1858-1939)* (Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada, 1940, 101-3). Biographical sketch of this recently deceased member of the Society.
- BULL, WILLIAM PERKINS. *From Macdonell to McGuigan: History of the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada*. Toronto: Perkins Bull Foundation. 1939. Pp. 501. To be reviewed later.

- CORMIE, J. A. *Preacher and printer* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2), Sept., 1940, 12-14). James Evans, Methodist missionary to the Northern Indians, was the originator of the now famous system of writing, the Cree Syllabics, and through the medium of the press he set up at Norway House in 1840 its use spread rapidly across the entire country.
- LENOIR, MAURICE. *Clericalism in Quebec*. I. *Clericalism on trial*. II. *The revolt against clericalism* (New republic, CIII (12, 13), Sept. 16 and 23, 1940, 379-81, 408-10). Believes that if the Catholic clergy do not take steps to satisfy the latent spirit of revolt among their flocks, their domination of all aspects of living will be threatened from within.
- LIGHTBOURN, F. GWYNE. *A sketch of the history of St. James' parish, Stratford, Ontario* (Canadian churchman, LXVII (31), Sept. 5, 1940, 486-9).
- LYONS, Sister LETITIA MARY. *Francis Norbert Blanchet and the founding of the Oregon missions (1838-1848)*. (Catholic University of America, Studies in American church history, vol. XXXI.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1940. Pp. 200. (\$2.00) A doctoral dissertation.
- MILLMAN, THOMAS R. *Home missions in the old diocese of Quebec* (Montreal churchman, XXVIII (9), Sept., 1940, 10-11). Outlines the work of home mission societies organized in Quebec as early as the 1830's.
- Pierre de Larue, abbé de l'Ile-Dieu* (B.R.H., XLVI (10), oct., 1940, 297-302). The function of Pierre de Larue, vicar-general at Paris between the years 1730 and 1777, was to act as agent between the bishops in Quebec and the authorities in France.
- POULIOT, LÉON. *Note sur l'église du Bas-Canada de 1831 à 1833: l'érection civile des paroisses* (B.R.H., XLVI (10), oct., 289-92).
- YON, ARMAND. *L'abbé Verreau, historien canadien (1828-1901)* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, sec. 1, série 3, XXXIV, mai, 1940, 119-37).

#### IX. GENEALOGY

- BONNAULT, CLAUDE DE. *Les Coigne du Berry en Canada* (B.R.H., XLVI (9), sept., 1940, 276-84). Charles de Couagne, the first of this family to come to Canada, arrived with Frontenac in 1672 as his "maître d'hôtel."
- DUNLOP, J. G. *The Dunlops of Dunlop: and of Auchenskaith, Keppoch, and Gairbraid*. (Dunlop papers, vol. II.) Frome and London: Butler and Tanner. Privately printed. 1939. Pp. x, 408. See p. 424.
- La famille de Montenach* (B.R.H., XLVI (7), juillet, 1940, 222-4). Charles-Nicolas-Fortuné de Montenach, of Swiss origin, came to Canada in 1811 with the regiment of the Meurons.
- FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS. *Le Du Pont de l'Acadie* (B.R.H., XLVI (8, 9), août, sept., 1940, 225-37, 257-71). Brief account of the Du Pont family in France in the seventeenth century and more detailed descriptions of the sons of Hugues Du Pont, some of whom played an important role in the life of Acadia in the mid-eighteenth century.
- WRIGHT, ESTHER CLARK. *Alexander Clark, Loyalist*. Wolfville, Nova Scotia: The author. 1940. Pp. 81. Genealogical lists of the descendants of this Loyalist who came to New Brunswick in 1783.

#### X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Canadian periodical index, July-Sept., 1940*. Prepared by the staff of the Circulation Department, University of Toronto Library. (Ontario library review, XXIV (4), Nov., 1940, 463-91).



- EVAN, RICHARD XAVIER. *The literature relative to Kateri Tekakwitha, the lily of the Mohawks, 1656-1680* (B.R.H., XLVI (7, 8), juillet, août, 1940, 193-209, 241-55).
- KENNEY, JAMES F. *The public records of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1791* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIV, series 3, May, 1940, 87-133). An initial study to determine what records were produced and how far they have been preserved.
- LANCOTOT, G. (ed.). *The Oakes collection: New documents by Lahontan concerning Canada and Newfoundland*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 78.
- MACMILLAN, JEAN ROSS (comp.). *Music in Canada: A short bibliography* (Ontario library review, XXIV (4), Nov., 1940, 386-96). Comprises writings on Canadian music, and writings on music by Canadians; also compilations of songs and collections and arrangements of folk-songs.
- Recent government publications* (Ontario library review, XXIV (4), Nov., 1940, 415-19). Lists Dominion, British Columbian, Ontario, and Quebec publications.

## XI. ART AND LITERATURE

- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Indian trade silver* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIV, series 3, May, 1940, 27-41). Silver ornaments found in undated Indian graves in North America have brought about various conclusions as to their origin—native or foreign.
- BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *Variations in Canadian landscape painting* (University of Toronto quarterly, X (1), Oct., 1940, 39-45). Significant trends are discussed in a study of the work of Carl Schaefer and David B. Milne.
- FABRE SURVEYER, E. *Une famille d'orfèvres* (B.R.H., XLVI (10), oct., 1940, 310-15). Johann Peter Arnoldi, the first member of this family to come to Canada, arrived in Montreal from Germany about 1760.
- FALARDEAU, EMILE. *Artistes & artisans du Canada*. Première série: Achim, Auclair, Desnoyers, Hay. Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1940. Pp. 94. (50c.)
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'Argentier Huguet-Latour* (B.R.H., XLVI (9), sept., 1940, 284-7). The career of Pierre Huguet-Latour, silversmith in Montreal in the early 1800's.
- MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. *Georges Delfosse* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, sec. 1, série 3, XXXIV, mai, 1940, 73-85). Biography of Georges Delfosse (1869-1939), famous as a painter of portraits and of religious subjects.
- MONTPETIT, EDOUARD. *L'Américanisme* (Actualité économique, XVI (2), mai, 101-23). The author feels that cultural unity between French and English Canada is the only means of withstanding American influence which has already penetrated deeply into English-Canadian life.
- MORGAN-POWELL, S. *This Canadian literature*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. Privately printed. 1940. Pp. 14. A plea for the development and encouragement of a distinctive Canadian literature.
- MORIN, VICTOR. *In chordis et organo* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no 5, 1940, 31-55). Discusses the beginning of the organ industry in Saint-Hyacinthe in 1840 under Joseph Casavant.
- PHILLIPS, W. J. *The art of Arthur Heming* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2), Sept., 1940, 24-9). After producing in the last ten years some seventy canvases depicting the wild life and the pioneer days of Canada, this outstanding artist is returning to the field of literature.

WALLACE, W. S. *Lord Selkirk's ghost writer* (Beaver, outfit 271 (2), Sept., 1940, 31-3). Some notes on John Halkett, writer, artist, collector, and member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

WOODHOUSE, A. S. P. (ed.). *Letters in Canada, 1939*. (Reprinted from the University of Toronto quarterly, IX (3), April, 1940.) Pp. 282-395. For the fifth year the *Quarterly* publishes its critical survey of current Canadian poetry (reviewed by E. K. BROWN), fiction (by J. R. MACGILLIVRAY), drama (by W. S. MILNE), French-Canadian letters (by FELIX WALTER), New-Canadian letters (by WATSON KIRK-CONNELL), and remaining material (by A. S. P. WOODHOUSE). Extensive bibliographies and lists of publications are included.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### APPOINTMENTS

Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, for some years provincial archivist of British Columbia, has become librarian of the University of British Columbia. He still continues as editor of the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. Mr. Willard E. Ireland has been appointed archivist of British Columbia and beginning with 1941 will act as associate editor of the *Quarterly*.

Dr. W. M. Whitelaw left the staff of the Canadian Archives in Ottawa during the past summer to accept an appointment in the History Department of the University of Saskatchewan.

Dr. D. C. Masters was appointed lecturer in History at United College, Winnipeg, in the autumn of 1939, and Dr. Gordon Skilling was appointed assistant and reader in September, 1940.

Professor D. G. Creighton of the Department of History, University of Toronto, has received a Guggenheim Fellowship and is on leave of absence for the academic year 1940-1. Professor G. G. Coulton of Cambridge University is a visiting lecturer at the University of Toronto for the year 1940-1.

Dr. A. G. Bailey, formerly on the staff of the New Brunswick Museum, is head of the Department of History in the University of New Brunswick.

Professor W. L. Morton, formerly of the University of Manitoba, has been appointed to the staff in History in Brandon College.

Professor C. P. Stacey was appointed on October 21 last as Historical Officer with the rank of Major on the staff of the Canadian Military Headquarters in England. Professor Stacey, whose name is well known to Canadian historians as a scholar, is also well qualified for his new post from the military point of view. We have received the following note with regard to the appointment from Colonel Duguid, Director Historical Section, Department of National Defence:

"As an undergraduate in the University of Toronto he had belonged to the Canadian Officers' Training Corps, and he also served in the ranks of No. 2 Signal Company, Canadian Corps of Signals, obtaining his commission in that unit on 6th November 1925. Having taken his B.A. at the University of Toronto, Major Stacey proceeded to Oxford University on a Parkin Scholarship, and while there, 1927-1929, he was attached to the Oxford University O.T.C. and attended camp and took part in Southern Command Training at Salisbury Plain with the 3rd Divisional Signals (Royal Corps of Signals).

On receiving his B.A. (Oxon.) Major Stacey was appointed to a fellowship in the Graduate School of Princeton University where in 1931 and 1933 he was granted the degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. in history. He was a member of the teaching staff of Princeton University from 1934 to 1940. He has made a special study of the relationship of military policy and operations to Canadian history. Among his publications in this field are two books, *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871* (1936) and *The Military Problems of Canada* (now in the press), as well as a large number of articles.

Major Stacey's appointment carries with it the important function of augmenting the historical records and war diaries of military units by obtaining historical information at first hand, and preparing such material for the future use of the official historian of the Canadian forces overseas."

Professor G. F. G. Stanley of Mount Allison University has been granted leave of absence for a year and is serving as captain in a military training centre at Fredericton, N.B.

## BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(These notes are of necessity selective. Suggestions will be appreciated.)

*Germany, 1815-1890* by G. Burrell Smith (London, Edward Arnold and Co. [Toronto, Longmans Green and Co.], 1940, 206 pp., \$1.10). There is a great lack of books in English on modern German history, and this little volume should be of considerable use. It presents a clear and readable account (in twelve brief chapters with headings for each topic) of the main developments in German history from the fall of Napoleon to the end of Bismarck's period of office. It follows traditional lines, leading up from the revival of Prussia after Jena and the organization of the Confederation of 1815, through the failure of the revolutions of 1848-9, to the achievement of unity by Bismarck, and his twenty years of office as Imperial Chancellor. Ideally, it begins a little too late (the death of Frederick the Great would be a better starting point) and it ends in the middle of a period. And it is a little too political and diplomatic; there is hardly enough space for social and economic history, to say nothing of cultural developments. Finally, it should have included at least a few references for further reading. [R. FLENLEY]

*Canadian Book of Printing: How Printing Came to Canada and the Story of the Graphic Arts, Told Mainly in Pictures* (published by Toronto Public Libraries and the 500th Anniversary Committee commemorating the invention of the art of printing from movable types, Toronto, 1940, xiv, 131 pp.). This book has been prepared and published through the co-operation of the Toronto Public Libraries and the committee appointed in Toronto to arrange for the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the invention of printing from movable types. Its distribution was made possible by the contributions of a large number of firms connected with the printing and publishing industry. It contains a brief and popular but carefully prepared account of the development of printing with special reference to Canada. The editorial work was done by Miss Marie Tremaine of the Library staff. It is amply illustrated, and altogether would make an excellent acquisition for any school library.

*Readings in Canadian History* edited by George W. Brown, contributing editors E. C. Woodley, V. L. Denton, J. J. Talman (Toronto, Vancouver, J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada), 1940, xiv, 378 pp., \$2.25) is reviewed on page 418 by Professor D. C. Harvey, the archivist of Nova Scotia. It is a selection of readings from the sources in Canadian history prepared especially with the needs of high-school students in mind. There has been little attempt hitherto to provide source-material in Canadian history for the schools, and it is the hope of the editors that this volume will meet a need to which numerous high-school teachers have drawn attention. The volume differs from most collections of sources in that the material is divided into chapters, and the extracts are held together by editorial paragraphs so that the book may be read independently of a text if so desired.

*"Ne-saw-je-won" as the Ottawas say: A Tale of the Waters that run down from Lake Superior to the Sea* by Helen M. Martin (Cleveland, M. D. Harbaugh, 1170 Hanna Bldg., 1939, 82 pp., 60c.) is a short and simply written account of the geological history of the Great Lakes. It is attractively illustrated with fifteen pictures and sixteen maps which give a clear impression of the evolution of the Great Lakes from the ice age to their present form. The book is by a competent scholar and is based in particular on two authoritative works published by the United States Geological Survey.

*Pamphlets on current events.* Informative pamphlets by competent authorities continue to appear. Recent titles in the Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs (Toronto, Oxford, 10c. each) are: *Was Germany Defeated in 1918?* by Cyril Falls and J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, an account of the closing months of the last war which shows that the war was brought to an end by the military defeat of Germany; *Britain's Blockade* by R. W. B. Clarke; *The Gestapo* by O. C. Giles; *War and Treaties* by A. D. McNair, an examination of the use of treaties, present attitudes towards them, their weaknesses, and the problems presented by them in the making of peace. Two titles have been added to the Canadian series of Oxford Pamphlets: *Trends in Canadian Nationhood* by Chester Martin which traces the main lines of Canada's development towards nationhood and defines the challenge presented by the crisis of the war; *Australia and New Zealand at War* by John W. Holmes. Of interest in connection with Canada's internal problems are the following pamphlets in the Contemporary Affairs Series (Toronto, Ryerson): *The Rowell-Sirois Commission: A Summary of the Report*, by S. A. Saunders and Eleanor Back; *Why War Savings?* by C. H. Herbert; *Canada's Trade Policy and the War* by L. B. Jack. The Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs have jointly published *Bushels to Burn* by J. W. Holmes, a study of Canada's wheat problem; *Uncle Sam on the Brink* by J. F. Green, a study of the attitude of the United States towards the war; *Confederation Marches On: A Comment on the Rowell-Sirois Report* by R. M. Fowler; *Shake Hands Latin America* by Mary McLean and J. R. Baldwin, a brief examination of the increasingly important question of Canada's relation to South America. Also in a series entitled "Democracy and Citizenship" the Association and the Institute have published the following discussions of the meaning and working of Canadian democracy: *How Did We Get That Way* by H. G. Skilling; *How the Wheels Go Round* by J. W. Holmes; *You Take Out What You Put In* by B. K. Sandwell; *Can We Make Good?* by T. W. L. MacDermot. The present organization and probable future of the British Commonwealth are the subjects of the following three thoughtful and well-informed pamphlets: *The British Commonwealth of Nations: Its Territories and Constitutions* by A. Berriedale Keith (Toronto, Longmans Green, 35c.); *The Future of the British Commonwealth of Nations* by Dr. Theodore Kraft (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs); *The British Empire under Fire* by J. F. Green (Headline Books, no. 24, New York, Foreign Policy Association, 25c.).

The following have also come to our attention: *More stories of Newfoundland* by Frances B. Briffett (Toronto, Vancouver, J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada), 1939, viii, 76 pp., 45c.), a short and attractively prepared series of stories suitable for the senior public-school level; *The Tudors and Stuarts* by M. M. Reese (London, Edward Arnold & Co. [Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co.], 1940, 440 pp., \$1.80), a concise summary of the main developments in English history from 1485 to 1713; *Young Mac of Fort Vancouver* by Mary Jane Carr (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co. [Toronto, Oxford], 1940, x, 238 pp., \$2.25), a beautifully illustrated and printed story of fur-trading days: the scene of the story is Fort Vancouver, the principal post of the Hudson's Bay Company, where Dr. John McLoughlin ruled as chief factor.

#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The British Columbia Historical Association held its annual meeting in the Provincial Library, Victoria, on October 11, Dr. T. A. Rickard, President, in the

chair. The report of the secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree, showed that the year just closed had been particularly successful, and that the membership has increased. Dr. W. Kaye Lamb reported that the circulation of the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* had reached 502, the highest to date. Dr. Rickard chose as the subject of his presidential address, "The Straits of Anian." He outlined explorations which had been made, and brought the topic down to the days of Franklin and Amundsen. The address will be printed in the *Quarterly* or privately. President, Kenneth A. Waites, Vancouver; vice-presidents, B. A. McKelvie, Victoria, E. M. Cotton, New Westminster; secretary, Miss H. R. Boutilier, Vancouver; treasurer, W. E. Ireland, Victoria; archivist, Robie L. Reid, Vancouver; council, Mrs. M. R. Cree, J. R. V. Dunlop, the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, His Honour Judge F. W. Howay, Major H. T. Nation.

*British Columbia Historical Association, Vancouver Section.* The September meeting was addressed by the Rev. J. H. White, D.D., a retired United Church minister living at Sardis on the subject of his "boyhood recollections." Dr. White came to the province in 1859 at the age of four. The Canadian Methodist Church had decided to send missionaries to the gold mines then opening up, and the speaker's father was one of the first to be sent, the party travelling by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Dr. White gave much interesting information about New Westminster and Nanaimo as seen by a young lad in the 1860's. Nearly the entire population of Nanaimo was interested in the coal seams, the mines at that time operating on three shifts. Dr. White also told about the first school in New Westminster and the beginnings of Methodist activity in the Fraser Valley.

*British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Section.* The annual meeting, held on October 28, was attended by a large number. The presidential address by Mr. B. A. McKelvie was on "The Nootka Affair." By fitting coincidence it was exactly 150 years since the Nootka Convention of 1790. Mr. McKelvie traced the rise of Spanish and English rivalry on the Pacific coast, the development of commercial interests by Spanish, British, and American sea-captains, the diplomatic crises, and the final settlement. The paper was received with much interest. Mrs. J. J. Shallcross presented the Archives with a framed handbill entitled "Nootka Sound or Britain Prepared." Officers have been elected as follows: President, Mrs. Curtis Sampson; vice-president, F. C. Green; honorary secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; honorary treasurer, Miss M. Wolfenden; convenors of committees, W. E. Ireland, publications; Mrs. George Phillips, necrology; Major H. T. Nation, mining; C. C. Pemberton, historic landmarks; Dr. T. A. Rickard, programme.

*The Canadian Catholic Historical Association.* The seventh annual meeting of the Association was held in Sherbrooke, P.Q., on October 1 and 2. The attendance was remarkably large, and in every way the meeting was a success. This success was in large part due to the enthusiastic support of the Most Rev. Philippe Desranleau, Coadjutor Bishop of Sherbrooke; to the hospitality and efficient help of the Superior and the Faculty of the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, where the sessions were held; and to the hard work of the members of the local committees, of which the chairmen were the Rev. Maurice O'Bready, Mr. T. G. Walsh, Mme An. Codère, Miss Gladys Mullins, and Mrs. Arthur Coté.

In addition to the joint business meeting, there were three events in which the two sections of the Association acted together, the open meeting on the first evening, an historical excursion around Sherbrooke and its neighbourhood on the afternoon of the second day, and the annual dinner on the second evening. At the open meeting the President-General, the Rev. Lionel Groulx, gave his presidential



address. Other speakers were His Excellency Bishop Desranleau; the Very Rev. Arthur Sideleau, Superior of the Seminary; and the Rev. J. A. Gallagher, C.S.S.R., who very kindly took the place of Colonel the Most Rev. C. L. Nelligan, Bishop of Pembroke and Chief of Canadian Catholic Chaplain Service, whose military duties compelled him to be absent. At the dinner the Abbé Groulx presided, and the speakers were His Excellency Bishop Desranleau; M. Joseph Labrecque, Mayor of Sherbrooke; M. Henri Coursier, Consul-General of France in Canada; Mr. John T. Hackett, K.C., of Montreal and Stanstead; the Hon. Judge Hector Verret; the Hon. W. H. McGuire, K.C., incoming President-General; the Rev. Elie J. Auclair, veteran man of letters of the Eastern Townships; and Dr. J. F. Kenney, Secretary of the English Section.

At the sessions of the English Section the following papers were read: The Rev. Brother Alfred, "The Windham or Oak Ridges Settlement of French Royalist Refugees, York County, Upper Canada, 1798"; W. L. Scott, "Glengarry's Representatives in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1812-1841"; Miss Gladys Mullins, "English-speaking Priests who Evangelized the Eastern Townships"; the Rev. T. J. Walsh, "Pioneer English-speaking Catholics in the Eastern Townships"; the Very Rev. Henry Carr, "The Very Rev. J. R. Teefy, C.S.B., LL.D."; Major the Rev. J. R. O'Gorman, "Canadian Catholic Chaplain Service in the Great War, 1914-1919."

In the French Section a series of papers was given on the general topic of the difficulties of the Catholic Church in French Canada under British rule, of which the initial study was the presidential address of the Abbé Groulx, "La situation religieuse au Canada au lendemain de la conquête." These followed: Séraphin Marion, "Le problème voltairien"; the Very Rev. Michel Couture, "Le problème mennaisien" (the influence of La Mennais); the Rev. Maurice O'Bready, "Le problème démocratique"; the Rev. Arthur Maheux, "Le problème protestant." Other papers read in the French Section: The Rev. Elie J. Auclair, "Le rôle de l'Eglise dans la pénétration des cantons de l'Est"; the Rev. Léon Pouliot, "Les états mystiques chez les convertis indiens de la Nouvelle-France"; Mlle Marie Claire Daveluy, "Comment expliquer Jeanne Le Ber."

At a special and very important session, under the chairmanship of Major the Rev. J. R. O'Gorman, arrangements were initiated for the preservation and organization of records of Canadian Catholic service in the present war.

It was recommended that the next annual meeting be held at London, Ontario.

Honorary president, His Eminence Cardinal Villeneuve; president-general, the Hon. W. H. McGuire; *English section*: President, the Rev. H. J. Somers; vice-presidents, the Rev. Brother Alfred, W. L. Scott; secretary, James F. Kenney; treasurer, Miss Florence Boland; members of council, the Rev. W. J. Osborne, E. J. Mullally, J. J. Connolly, William Gibson, Donald J. McDougall, the Rev. J. A. Gallagher, J. J. Leddy, the Rev. Jas. S. McGivern, Angus J. McCormick; *French section*: President, Victor Morin; vice-presidents: the Rev. Thomas Charland, Égidiu Fauteux; secretary, Séraphin Marion; treasurer, the Rev. Edgar Thivierge; members of council, the Right Rev. Olivier Maurault, Pierre Georges Roy, Gustave Lancot, the Rev. Arthur Maheux, the Rev. Léon Pouliot, the Rev. Georges Robitaille, the Rev. Canon Michel Couture, the Rev. Alphonse Gauthier, the Rev. Pascal Potvin.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* held its annual meeting on November 12. Prizes for historical essays in the schools were presented to Miss Barbara Smith and Miss Elizabeth Cochrane. Lieut.-Colonel Eaton, president

of the Association, displayed recent gifts to the Fort Anne Museum: a drawing of the "Fort Anne Sally Port" done by E. Wendell Lawson and presented by J. B. Helme; a hand-wrought rake, gift of Captain L. H. Porter of Brooklyn; coins minted in British East Africa during the reign of Edward VIII, British East Africa being the only place where coins were minted during that brief reign. The president announced that although the furnishings of the Champlain *Habitation* were to have come from France, they will be forthcoming from Canada in the near future. [Mrs. F. C. GILLIATT]

*The History Association of Montreal* is organizing study groups on current events and Canadian history. It has six regular meetings and one excursion each year. President, Miss D. J. Ross; secretary, Miss D. E. Labelle.

*Les Dix* during the past summer made a trip of some 2,500 miles to historic spots of Acadia. They followed the Matapedia route to Saint John, visited the old forts of d'Aulnay and La Tour, the New Brunswick Museum, the recently constructed *Habitation* of Champlain, Grand-Pré, the archives of Nova Scotia at Halifax, the ruins of Louisbourg. Returning they visited historic spots on the Chignecto Isthmus, and followed the road by way of the Bay of Chaleur and Gaspé. Dr. J. C. Webster of Shediac entertained the group at his home. The Abbé Tessier filmed the trip and Mgr Maurault wrote an account of it.

In June *Les Dix* published *Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis en Canada* by Ægidius Fauteux, which is reviewed in this issue. *Histoire de Contrecoeur* by F. J. Audet was planned for publication in November. The sixth year of activities was inaugurated at a banquet in Ottawa on October 12, the president of the day being Dr. F. J. Audet. [G. MALCHELOSSE]

*Miramichi Historical Society.* The activities at present being carried on by the Society include the preparation of a catalogue of sailing ships built in Miramichi to be published in the spring of 1941, and a card index of the inhabitants of Miramichi from 1765 to 1800. Secretary, Louise Manny.

*Similkameen Historical Association.* The ninth annual banquet was held in Princeton on October 2, one hundred and twenty-six being present. At the meeting on October 29 the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow read a paper on A. C. Anderson and his explorations in Similkameen. Honorary president, Perley Russell; president, A. Gould; vice-president, J. D. Saunders; secretary-treasurer, the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.

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#### ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

*Grosvenor Library, Buffalo.* The *Bulletin* of the library for June contains a bibliography of the library's collection on the Shakers.

*Hamilton Public Library.* The following quotations are from a letter which has been received from Miss Freda F. Waldon of the Hamilton Public Library apropos of the materials on the war of 1914-18 which the library has in its possession. The REVIEW is forwarding this letter to the committee of the Canadian Historical Association which was appointed for the purpose of encouraging libraries to preserve materials pertaining to the present war (see June issue, pp. 239-40). We imagine that a good many libraries in Canada have not yet undertaken the kind of survey which Miss Waldon describes, and we hope that her interesting letter will encourage them to do so.

"I was very glad to see that the Canadian Historical Association is going to give us advice on the keeping of records of this war. The Hamilton Public Library

has just made a perfect demonstration of the need for such instruction. We spent the summer gathering together an exhibition to show what Hamilton did in the war of 1914-18. We have enough to be interesting but any member of the Canadian Historical Association would shudder at what we haven't got, in spite of numerous phone calls and letters and appeals in the *Hamilton Spectator* and over the radio. Of sixty local organizations engaged in war work only the Patriotic Fund and the Secours National published reports. Local photographers had very few pictures. One had thrown out his old file of pictures a few years ago. And so it went.

However, as a result of our efforts we now have more source-material than we had before: Minute books of the Recruiting League, and the Soldiers Aid Commission; an outline of all the relief organizations at work in 1917; a report on the Red Cross Fruit Kitchen compiled from their minute books; the final statement of the Red Cross; Patriotic Fund, Secours National, and Navy League pamphlets and reports, a few recruiting and Patriotic Fund posters.

I think we have also given a number of people the idea that records should be kept, reports published, and archives turned over to the Library this time."

*Maritime Library Association.* At the sixth annual meeting held in Moncton on June 20, the name was changed from Maritime Library Institute to Maritime Library Association. The *Bulletin* of the Association for September gives an account of the sessions. The discussions indicated that there is an active interest in the organization of library facilities, and that there is an interest in relating these to historical activities.

*The Public Archives of Canada* has recently published its *Report* for 1939. It contains among other items, ten miscellaneous documents and a bibliography of materials in the archives relating to the Rebellion of 1837. Among the acquisitions we note twenty-eight letters from Sir John Macdonald to Dalton McCarthy. The Archives has also published *New Documents by Lahontan* from the Oakes Collection, with an introduction by the Archivist, M. Gustave Lanctot.

*Queen's University Library* has now on exhibition a manuscript of considerable historical interest. It is entitled: "A true relation of the proceedings in Parliament in the last session beginning the 20th. of January, 1628 [actually 1629, new style] untill the dissolution thereof." The MS. is on 75 leaves of good paper; its size Imperial Octavo (11½"×7½"); and written in a fine contemporary hand. It gives the speeches made during the debates of the Commons, on the Petition of Right: and it terminates with the memorable scene in the House on March 2, 1629; during which the Speaker, Sir John Finch, was held in his Chair until the answer of the House to the King's command to adjourn was recorded. The manuscript varies in several important respects from the authority upon which Gardiner relied in his *History of England*. This MS. is now the possession of a resident in Perth, Ontario, and has been lent to Queen's with other rare and curious volumes.

A copy in English of the speech made by Adolph Hitler to the members of the Reichstag on July 25, 1940, has been presented to the library of Queen's University. The speech is headed: "A Last Appeal to Reason," and was designed to show the stubborn English people that the war hitherto had gone exactly according to German schedules and that they, the last enemy, were already defeated if they would but believe it. This historic document, which marks probably the highest point that the present German Reich is likely to reach, will be carefully preserved at Queen's in a transparent frame.

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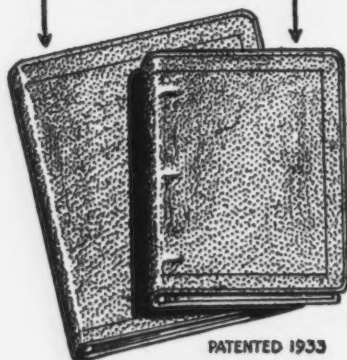
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